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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

I.—ON THE GREAT SEALS OF KING STEPHEN.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ.

(Read December 17, 1873.)

THE seals, called broad seals or great seals, used by King Stephen, present some very attractive features to the student of the sphragistic art, as developed during the twelfth century, in England, and form a test for the large number of baronial seals which came into use about this period or very shortly afterwards. Their consideration also is not without interest to the palæographer, whose efforts are mainly directed to the ascertaining of the style of handwriting employed, and the more precise date of documents issued during the king's reign, inasmuch as, the position of the seals having been once settled, they enable him for the future to place a sealed deed either in the earlier or later moiety of the reign. The historian also is assisted in a notable degree, if a precise period can be assigned to the currency of either of the two types used. Every definite date obtained bearing upon a period when the introduc-

tion of year-dates had not yet come into operation, is of great importance in determining the relative periods when the personages mentioned in the texts of the sealed deed flourished.

Although no authentic charters, issued during the eighteen years and more under this king's seals, bear any actual date (for we are dealing with an epoch anterior to that which, so to speak, reinitiated the early or Saxon style of inserting into documents computations of regnal years, years of the incarnation, indiction, or one or more of the numerous methods once in vogue with the practitioners of English diplomatic art), nevertheless, we may in a majority of instances of these undated documents reduce the bounds of time over which they appear to range very materially, if not to comparatively few years; and it will appear in the course of these pages that I have been enabled so to reduce these temporal limits in some cases. The complete reduction in all cases can only be accomplished with a very large amount of research, which would be hardly perfected without a re-writing of the whole of the early Baronage of England, a feat that would truly require a second Dugdale for its consummation. This narrowing of date-limits is to be accomplished as well by carefully comparing the names of individuals figuring either as principals or witnesses in the text and subscriptions of those documents which yet remain of this early period, as by ascertaining from contemporary and trustworthy sources the actual year of foundations of sees and monasteries, of creations of titles of dignity, of battles and historical events, and even of legal formula: for the current

sentences of a conveyance or royal grant of land in the time of Stephen differ as much from those of William I. and Henry III. as it is possible to imagine.

It is very fortunate for those who seek to reduce to more exact limits the date involved by these charters and seals, that there are so few documents bearing seals of kings early in the roll of England's royal pedigree, which do not contain names of nobles, dignitaries of the State, and of the Church (regular and secular), or members of the Royal House, whose obits are pretty well ascertained, that we may take it for a settled fact that, practically speaking, every charter really bears within itself the key to the correct solution of its date. It remains, however, for the student to elicit the exact position of each charter in the series. But until a careful revision and recension of the Norman Baronage shall have been made, it will be difficult, and altogether going beyond my position here, to apply to every case the test of names of personages mentioned.

A consideration of some of the salient points of contemporary history is also necessary as the task proceeds; and, before all, attention must be given to the time of Stephen's assumption of royal power. The preceding monarch, Henry I., died in his incomplete thirty-sixth regnal year, on the first of December, A.D. 1135, and the line of hereditary succession being temporarily set aside in the case of King Stephen, it is very improbable that an established precedent of commencing the calculation of each king's reign from the day on which the ceremony of coronation was performed, would be dispensed with

on this occasion. Hence, after an interval, or interregnum, of the period included between the 2nd and 25th of December, the reign of King Stephen must be taken to begin on the 26th of December, A.D. 1135.

Having thus started the king upon his troubled reign, we must next examine the various types of the seals bearing his effigy and style. In the present instance there are two, perhaps three, distinctly variant types: and there is no difficulty in awarding to each of the two types extant its proper position. A glance at the seals of Henry I. will suffice to indicate that two at least of them bear a very near resemblance to the seal of Stephen, which on this ground alone must be called the first[1]; and there is no doubt that the production of this first seal of Stephen was directly influenced by the design, if not by the designer himself, of the seals employed by Henry I. The internal evidence also, of the limited number of charters that I have been able to examine with this type appended to them, favours the view of their emanation from the king's court at an early period in the reign. Before reciting the charters mentioned, it will be necessary to describe fully the details of work exhibited by the seal, as follows:—

Obv. The king is seated on a throne without back, and dressed in a long coat with tight body and sleeves, loose skirts, girt round the waist with an embroidered belt, over all a loose cloak with embroidered edges, gathered up by a button in front of the right shoulder, thrown over the left

[1] See my paper, 'On the Great Seals of Henry I.,' with photographic plates of four types, in the 'Journal of the British Archæological Association, 1873.'

arm and falling in ample folds over the back part and sides of the throne. The king wears a crown of three fleurs-de-lis with *ansula* or trefoiled pendant fastenings, and extends both arms horizontally outwards from the elbow; in the right he elevates a drawn sword, the point being slightly turned to the head of the king, in the left he sustains an orb and eagle as in the later seals of Henry I.

Legend. ✠ STEPHANVS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORVM—within two plain annuli.

Rev. The king on a charger passant to the right, whose trappings consist of reins, bridle and head gear, *peytrel* with pendant ornaments, saddle, saddle-cloth, stirrup and stirrup-leathers. The monarch is habited in tight trousers, hauberk and continuous coif surmounted by a helmet of Phrygian form. Behind the head are seen the long ties which fastened the coif or the casque. A bowed kite-shield with projecting spike is slung in front over the shoulders by a guige; in his right hand the king holds erect a drawn broad-sword, a plain goad spur completes his equipment.

Legend. ✠ STEPHANVS DEI GRATIA DVX NORMANORV—within two plain annuli.

1. Of the original impressions of this type which I have identified, there is one in the series of *detached seals* in the British Museum, No. XXXIX, 10, a very fine specimen in dingy yellow wax, the edge repaired where it is imperfect.

2. Sandford, in his *Genealogical History*, page 38, note, states that he had one in his possession.

3. A cast among the type impressions deposited in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum. It is from a fairly preserved original among the Archives in the Duchy of Lancaster Office, now in the Record Office, No. 18, (see lower down), but the edge is imperfect in various places.

4. A charter among the Duchy of Lancaster Archives in the Record Office, No. 11, bearing an imperfect impression of this first type in white wax, cracked and very friable. The text, which is unfortunately mutilated, is:—

Stephanus rex Anglorum Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Com[itibus] . . . [et Vicecomi]tibus suis francis et Anglis . tocius Anglie et Wali[e salutem] . . . [? Henrico de G]loecestra et heredibus suis post eum . in feodum et . . . is et Castelli Gloecestre et vicecomitat . . . Henr̃ . sicut patrimonium suum . et . . . terras suas et tenaturas . . . tenuit die qua . . . sicut rex et . . . heres . . . at cum . . . episcopo Cicestrensi . . . de Totenei . et . . . et Elya Gif[fard] apud . . .

There is hardly sufficient of this charter to enable me to ascertain the purport of the grant, which appears likely to have been made to Henry of Gloucester. The fragment of the seal is very small and indistinct, but sufficient to indicate that it belongs to this first type.

The two witnesses, of the baronial houses of Totenei and of Giffard,[2] do not occur in any other charter of the series embraced in this paper.

5. A fine impression of the first seal of the King in pale yellow wax, attached by the universal method, viz., a strip cut along the lower edge of the document, to a charter among the Archives of the Duchy of Lancaster at the Record Office, No. 12.

The text of this charter is as follows:—

Stephanus rex Anglorum S[imoni] episcopo Wirecestrensi et Justiciariis et Vicecomiti et Baronibus Gloecestresciræ : salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse et dedisse Miloni

[2] For some account of Helias or Elyas Giffard, of Brimsfield, the reader is referred to Dugdale's 'Baronage,' vol. i. pp. 499, 500.

Gloecestræ totam terram et teneuram quam fuit Edrici filii Chetelli quicunque eam teneat . ita plenarie . sicut rex . H[enricus] eam dedit Waltero patri ejusdem Milonis . et carta sua confirmavit. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod bene et in pace et honorifice et libere et quiete teneat cum Omnibus consuetudinibus et libertatibus cum quibus Edricus vel Chetellus pater suus melius tenuerunt. Et omnes ejusdem teneure tenentes . intendant Miloni sicut domino suo. testibus N[igello] episcopo de Ely . et R. filio Ric[ardi] . et W[illelmo] Mart[el]. apud Ferham.

This charter must have been granted to Milo previous to his defection from the King's side to that of the Empress Matilda. It is also an important point for the date of the deed, that this noble is herein simply styled Milo of Gloucester, whereas he was Earl of Hereford from A.D. 1141 until his death, which occurred in A.D. 1144[3]; this deed must therefore be placed before A.D. 1141. Nigel, Bishop of Ely, occupied that see from A.D. 1135 to A.D. 1169, with a short interval of ejection in A.D. 1139; Simon was consecrated Bishop of Worcester 24 May, A.D. 1125, and died 20 March, A.D. 1149–50.

6. A small fragment of an impression in white wax, appended to the original charter among the Archives of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Record Office, No. 13, the text of which is as subjoined:—

Stephanus rex Anglorum S[imoni] Episcopo Wigornensi et Justiciariis . et Baronibus . et Vicecomiti . et Ministris suis. tocius Gloecestrescireæ Salutem. Sciatis me concessisse Miloni Gloec[estræ] hereditarie totam illam terram quam Episcopus Exoniensis . tenebat in Gloec[estra] . sicut ipse

[3] The continuator of Simeon Dunelmensis thus describes the manner of his death:—" A.D. 1144. Obiit Milo, Comes Herfordiæ, in vigilia Natalis Domini, venatui insistens et sagitta transfixus."

Episcopus ei dedit . et per cartam suam confirmavit . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod bene . et in pace . et honorifice teneat . cum Saca . et Soca . et Tol . et Team . et Infangenethē . et omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus cum quibus ipse Episcopus vel aliquis antecessorum suorum unquam melius vel liberius tenuit . teste . R . Cancellario apud Oxen[eford.]

Simon, Bishop of Worcester, occupied the see[4] between the dates of 24 May, A.D. 1125 and 20 March, A.D. 1149–1150.

Milo of Gloucester received the Earldom of Hereford in A.D. 1141, and probably would have been so designated in any grant made to him after that year.

R., the Chancellor, is in all probability the Roger "Pauper," or Roger de Gant (illegitimate son of Roger, the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury, by Maud of Ramsbury), who held this office from A.D. 1135–1139. The limit of date that must be assigned to this charter is coterminous with the period of the above Chancellor's tenure of office, the first four years of the King's reign.

7. Durham Charter, 1ma 1mae Regalium, N. 1. 13. A fine impression of the type, in brown wax, varnished, and the edge chipped. There are traces of a legend on the rim of the seal, but the letters are too much defaced to be deciphered with any degree of certainty. The text of the Charter is as follows:—

Stephanus rex Anglorum Archiepiscopis Episcopis Comitibus Justiciariis Baronibus . Vicecomitibus et Omnibus Ministris totius regni Anglie salutem. Precipio et defendo ne monachi Sancti Cuthberti vel homines sui placitent

[4] See an interesting character of the bishop, drawn by William of Malmesbury, in the 'Gesta Pontificum,' ed. Hamilton, pp. 290, 291; and *cf.* note 1, on the latter page.

ullo modo nec respondeant de terris vel hominibus vel consuetudinibus aut de re ulla . unde essent saisiti die qua Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus fuit vivus et mortuus, vel die qua rex Henricus fuit vivus et mortuus . Sed ita bene et in pace et quiete et libere teneant cum soca et saca et thol et theam et infangeneth et cum omnibus liberis consuetudinibus infra Burgum et extra omnes res suas; sicut melius et quietius tenuerunt die qua predictus Willelmus episcopus fuit vivus et mortuus et die qua rex Henricus fuit vivus et mortuus. Et si de ulla re post mortem illorum sunt dissaisiti: precipio quod sine dilatione sint resaisiti. Et si aliquis eos dissaisierit aut aliquam injuriam eis amodo fecerit super breve meum et supra breve regis Henrici qui hoc idem precepit. volo sciatis quod pacem meam super illos infregerit. et mihi fracturam pacis mee emendabit. quoniam hec omnia in elemosinam perpetuam concessi . testibus . R[ogero] Cancellario . et W[altero] Espec . et Willelmo Malet . et Roberto Musard . Apud Dunelmum.

This document is written in the same hand as the next on the list, and the same argument may be brought forward for the early date of both, namely, the great similarity of the seal to those of Henry I. R., the chancellor, is evidently Roger, surnamed "Pauper," son of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who occupied that dignity from the year 1135 to about A.D. 1139, when Philip occurs as Chancellor. These facts, with the mention of Henry's I.'s death, A.D. 1135, and that of William, Bishop of Durham, A.D. 1096, appear to me to throw back the probable date of the Charter to the early years of Stephen's reign. Walter Espec, William Malet, and Robert Musard, were all great nobles, and occur throughout the reign, but future researches may so elucidate their movements that the period of their united presence with

the king will be shewn to be very brief, and perhaps limited to a single year or two.

8. Durham Charter, 1ma 1mae Regalium, O. 1. 14. A fine impression of this type, in brown wax, varnished, and the edges chipped away in places. There are also traces of a legend on the rim, but the letters are so broken away that they cannot be deciphered. The text is as follows:—

Stephanus rex Anglorum Archiepiscopo Eboracensi et Justiciariis et Baronibus . et Vicecomitibus et Ministris et Omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Notingehamscira salutem. Sciatis me Concessisse in Elemosinam Monachis Sancti Cuthberti Dunelmensis omnes terras et Molendina et omnes res suas de Notingehamscira de quocunque eas teneant . et nominatim . ij . Carrucatas terre in Normantona quas dirationaverunt in Curia regis Henrici versus fulconem de lusoris . sicut eas melius habuerunt melius tempore regis Henrici et die qua fuit vivus et mortuus. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod bene et in pace et libere et quiete teneant cum soca et sacha . et tol . et theam . et infangenehtheof . et cum omnibus liberis consuetudinibus suis . sicut melius tenuerunt tempore regis Henrici. Et de predictis . ij . Carrucatis terræ reddant . iiij . solidos per annum et nichil plus inde faciant / sicut hoc dirationatum fuit . testibus Cancellario. et W[altero] Esp[ec] et Roberto Musard . Apud Dunelmum.

Walter Espec died in 1153, having become a monk two years before his death. Robert Musard does not occur in the Baronage; but as King Henry I. is twice mentioned in this charter, we must throw it back with the other one which closely resembled it in the case of the witnesses.

9. British Museum, Additional Charter 19580. A specimen in white wax, very friable, with parts of the

edge gone. It was formerly among the muniments of the Marquis of Westminster, and has been printed by Mr. A. Way in his account of Reading Charters, in the "Archæological Journal," vol. xx. p. 292, no. xii. The text is thus:—

Stephanus Rex Anglorum Episcopo Wirec̃ et Comiti de Warwic̃ et Justiciariis et Vicecomitibus et Baronibus et ministris de Warwicscira: salutem. Precipio quod Abbas de Rading' teneat terram et homines suos de Rochintona. ita bene et in pace et libere et quiete. in pratis et Pasturis et Aquis et via et Semitis et divisis. cum omnibus quietationibus suis de placitis omnibus et querelis et sciris et hundredis et occasionibus sicut melius tenuerunt tempore regis Henrici et die qua fuit vivus et mortuus. Quia ecclesia illa in manu et tutela mea est propria sicut erat in manu regis Henrici. teste R. de Uer. apud Westmonasterium.

There are no precise means of settling the date, but the fact that the deed is a confirmation to the abbey of Reading, of liberties enjoyed under Henry I., leads us to suppose that it cannot have been very long before it was obtained from the king. An itinerary of Stephen would form a very valuable aid to the settling of the date of these charters; it is, however, doubtful if such a work could be brought to a successful issue.

Engravings of this seal will be found in *Speed's History*, ed. 1650, p. 455; the *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, pl. II. fig. 2; the reverse only in Hewitts' *Armour and Weapons in Europe*, vol. i. p. 144; and in the series of *Photographs of the British Museum*, published under direction of C. Harrison, Esq., no. 953. The Add. MS. in the British Museum, 6728, f. 11, has also a figure of the seal.

I have now arrived at an important point in the history of the great seals of Stephen. Having indicated the great likeness between Henry I.'s seals, and that which must on this account be called Stephen's first seal, the approach is made to a peculiar question which bears strongly on the time when this seal ceased to be employed. That point is, the continuity of the king's reign. Did the king ever cease to exercise his regal functions? Were these functions performed by any other constitutional sovereign meanwhile? The events of the year 1141 need not to be very lengthily discussed to demonstrate that for a brief period there was a break in Stephen's sovereignty, and a corresponding assumption of royal power by another ruler, unhindered and unimpeached by the lack of any formality necessary for its full enjoyment. William of Malmesbury, writing with all the opportunity of an eyewitness, and moving in the royal court at the very period, relates at full length in his *Historia Novella*[5] the particulars of the conference held at Winchester subsequent to the capture of Stephen after the Battle of Winchester, in the early part of the year, 4 Non. Feb., A.D. 1141. In this conference or council, the Empress Matilda, with her adherents,[6] was received by the Papal Legate, Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester. The author I have mentioned relates among other events the terms on which the prelate consented to recognise the Empress as

[5] Ed. Hardy, for Historical Society, vol. ii, p. 774.

[6] For a list of the principal nobles, churchmen, and others, who were on the side of the Empress, see the names of the witnesses to several original charters issued by her about this time :—Brit. Mus., Add. Ch., 19576–9, 20378; Cotton, xvi, 27; and three in the Record Office, formerly Duchy of Lancaster Archives, Royal Charters, 16, 17, and 19.

Domina, or Lady, that is, Supreme governor of England, a solemn oath having been taken by her and her party. The exact words are:—"Nec dubitavit Episcopus Imperatricem in *Dominam* Angliæ recipere." In another place the same prelate declared of her:—"In Angliæ Normanniæque *Dominam* eligimus." This election of Matilda as *Domina* of England in place of Stephen took place on Sunday, 2nd March, 1141. On the following day she was honourably received into Winchester, and brought into the cathedral by the Legate, attended by the Bishop of St. Davids and other prelates, the crown of England's sovereigns was handed over to her, and in this passage an important word has been here employed by the chronicler—"In publica se civitatis et fori audientia Dominam et REGINAM acclamare præcepit."[7]

There are two, and, as is yet ascertained, only two instances of documentary evidence in favour of the assumption of Queenship by the Empress; one printed in the *Arch. Journ.* xx. p. 289, being a grant to Reading Abbey very shortly after March, A.D. 1141, and another printed by Hearne and in the Monasticon Anglicanum, Caley's Edition, vol. i. p. 44, being a charter to Glastonbury Abbey. In each of these she is styled REGINA. Until the liberation of the king from his incarceration at Bristol, as a sequel to the battle at Winchester in A.D. 1143, so disastrous to the hopes of the Empress, she held her position as queen at London, and having probably obtained possession of the great seal which has been already noticed, appointed in turn no less than three

[7] 'Gesta Stephani, Historia Norm. Script.,' p. 594. Apud 'Arch. Journ.,' xx, 284.

Chancellors, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, William Fitz Gilbert, and, in reversion, William de Vere, a clear fact shewing her absolute control over the great seal. Stephen's seal was lost, in the power of his enemies, or in abeyance; Matilda's seal, as the existing specimens[8] shew, was that which she had as yet used in Germany, bearing the legend *Mathildis Dei Gratia Romanorum Regina.*

Each[9] of her Charters, issued during her sovereignty, commences with one of these formulæ, "Mathildis imperatrix Henrici Regis filia et Anglorum REGINA," "Mathildis imperatrix Henrici Regis filia," and "Mathildis imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum Domina." The narrative of the events of this period, as given by William of Malmesbury in the work already quoted, so clearly points to her enjoyment of all temporal power needed to constitute a sovereign, that we must admit her name among the regnant sovereigns of England. There is no doubt that the use of the term *Domina* instead of *Regina* is deliberate, and adopted by reason of the ceremony of coronation never having been performed, although, as I have before mentioned, the Empress had possession of the Crown. The word was specially employed by English sovereigns, either to denote supreme rule over lands which had not a crown, as was the case with Ireland from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries (hence the style during that period was Henricus, Edwardus, etc., Rex Angliæ et Dominus Hiberniæ); or it was a temporary title used by the

[8] For a note of the localities of these charters see 'Arch. Journ.,' xx, 289.

[9] See note 6 for references to original charters issued by Matilda.

newly-made sovereign during the space of time elapsing between the death of his predecessor and the day of his own coronation. In this latter signification Richard I. styles himself *Dominus* Angliæ in a charter among the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster at the new Record Office,[10] granted nearly a month after the death of Henry II., and before his own coronation (as has been shewn by Mr. W. Hardy). But the fact of a ceremony of coronation not having been performed no more invalidates the fact that Mathildis was practically the queen of England, than the coronation of Henry, son of Henry II., as a king joint in rule with his father entitles him to a place among the regnant sovereigns, because he never enjoyed the practical results of his office, namely, absolute rule.

The consideration of the second seal tends to indicate the alteration of the type subsequent to his liberation from the hands of the Empress, and it is most natural to suppose that this alteration is owing to the destruction or loss of his seal consequent to his own capture and incarceration. At the same time, if we carefully review a statement in the Archæologia,[11] respecting a charter of which I shall presently give the text, there would appear to be reason for supposing the change to have been effected before the king's defeat. It is, that the seal itself from which Sandford engraved the only engraving of Stephen's seal given in his work, having the late type, is stated to have been appended to a deed in the Duchy Office, restoring to Milo of Gloucester certain lands which

[10] 'Archæologia,' xxvii, 110.
[11] *id.* xxvi, 460.

King Henry I. had formerly granted to Walter his father. Now as Milo was created in A.D. 1141 Earl of Hereford, by the Empress Matilda during her brief reign, this deed, and the second type of seal which it is said to carry, must be attributed to a date prior to 1141, if we consider that the title acquired *from an enemy* would have been applied to his name in the text of the king's charter.[12] An inspection of the actual seal shows, however, that it is of the first type. This apparent exception being rejected, the following charters, each bearing a seal of the second type, may be more properly referred to the period after the king's restoration to power; just as the charters already recited with early type seals allow the use of that type before the king's imprisonment. One charter, the last of the series here brought together, must have been issued between A.D. 1153 and A.D. 1154; and the similarity of the seal of Henry II. to this second type will be readily acknowledged by an inspection of that monarch's seal in the works I have already pointed out.

Before describing the charters which carry specimens of this seal, it is necessary to describe the details of the seal itself, as follows:—

Obv. The king is seated on a throne without back, generally resembling that already described, but larger, and without arches in the front panels; habited in a tight coat with short sleeves, and with loose skirts; over all is a cloak with embroidered edges, gathered up by a button over the right shoulder, and falling over the left arm at the back and sides of the throne. The king wears a crown of three points or fleurs-de-lis, and extends both arms horizontally outwards

[12] See further in Dugdale's 'Baronage.' The deed forms No. 5 of the series here given.

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from the elbow, in the right elevating a drawn sword, the point inclining to the head of the king, in the left an orb surmounted by a cross pattée upon a foot, on which is an eagle close. In the field between the point of the sword and the king's head is an estoile of seven points radiated.

Legend between two plain annuli:

✠ STEPHANVS · DEI · GRATIA · REX ANGLORVM.

Rev. The king on a charger passant to the right, whose trappings consist of bit, reins, saddle and saddle-cloth, stirrup and leathers, and *peytrel* adorned with five spherical pendants. The monarch is habited in a hauberk of interlinked chain-mail with continuous coif, surmounted by a helmet of Phrygian form; behind the head are seen ties which fastened the casque or coif. A bowed kite-shield is slung in front over his neck by the guige, and in his right hand he carries a long lance with broad point, having a flag on which is a cross pattée, and four long wavy streamers.

Legend within two plain annuli:

✠ STEPHANVS DEI GRATIA DVX NORMANNORVM.

10. A charter among the muniments of the Duchy of Lancaster, now in the Record Office, No. 15, bears an impression in white wax, covered with a light brown varnish, of the second type of Stephen's seal; it is very imperfect, the right hand half being wanting. The text is as follows:—

Stephanus rex Anglorum Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Justiciariis Comitibus Vicecomitibus Baronibus et Omnibus Ministris et fidelibus suis totius Anglie : salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse hereditarie Willelmo Comiti Lincolniæ domum Walteri de Amundevilla de Chinierbi . et quicquid ad eam pertinet in Chinierbi . et in Osgo-

tebi . et in Ouresbi . et in omnibus aliis locis . ita quod quamdiu habebo episcopatum Lincolniensem in manu mea ⁊ ipse Comes eam bene et in pace eam tenebit . vel si evenerit quod A[lexander] episcopus mecum pacem fecerit ⁊ vel alius episcopus Lincolniensis substitutus fuerit ⁊ escambium inde dabo ad valens de dominio meo ⁊ Lincolniensi ecclesiæ . et ipse Comes predictus tenebit domum de Chinierbi cum terris predictis bene et in pace . et libere . et quiete . sicut feodum suum et hereditarie de me . et de heredibus meis . testibus Ricardo filio Ursi . et Ing[eramo] . . . e . [Apud] Oxeneford.

William de Roumare, Earl of Lincoln, probably obtained the dignity of Earl from the capture of the King at Lincoln by the Empress Maud, in A.D, 1141.

The cause of the dispute between Bishop Alexander, who held the see from A.D. 1123 to 20 July, A.D. 1147, has been related at some length by William of Malmesbury[13] and Roger Hoveden.[14] The bishopric of Lincoln was soon afterwards restored to the bishop, who died shortly after his return from Pope Eugenius, in A.D. 1147. Mr. William Hardy, in his description of this charter in the Duchy catalogue, assigns the years 1139×1141 as the limits of date, because the Earl of Lincoln herein mentioned, together with his half-brother, the Earl of Chester, having received provocation at the hands of the king, joined the party of the Empress Maud. It cannot, however, be taken for granted that the Earl, who enjoyed his title at least until A.D. 1143, long after the decisive discomfiture of the Empress, was in opposition to the King; it is much more probable that he

[13] 'Gesta Regum,' ed. Hardy, *ut supra*, pp. 714–718.

[14] Ed. Stubbs (Rolls Series), vol. i. pp. 196, 197, from Henry of Huntingdon.

followed the example of his mistress, and entered into some compact of amity with Stephen, the above grant in all probability being the result of a private bargain between the cathedral authorities and the earl. If this is conceded, there is no reason why the charter should not take its place after the year A.D. 1141, to which period of the King's reign the other charters with the second seal are to be assigned.

11. An original impression among the Cotton Charters in the British Museum, No. vii, 4. The dates of the witnesses appear to range between A.D. 1139 and 1144. It is in brown wax, varnished; the edges and upper parts of the field much injured, and now repaired. The text is as follows:—

Stephanus rex Anglorum Archiepiscopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Justiciis (*sic*) . Baronibus . Vicecomitibus . 7 Omnibus Ministris . 7 fidelibus suis francis . 7 Anglis totius Angliæ . salutem . Sciatis me fecisse Comitem de Gaufredo de Magnauilla . de Comitatu Essexiæ hereditarie . Quare nolo . 7 concedo . 7 firmiter precipio quod ipse . 7 heredes sui post eum hereditario jure teneant de me . 7 de heredibus meis . bene . 7 in pace . 7 libere et quiete . 7 honorifice . sicut alii Comites mei de terra mea . melius vel liberius . vel honorificentius tenent Comitatus suos . unde Comites sunt . cum omnibus dignitatibus . 7 libertatibus . 7 consuetudinibus . cum quibus alii Comites mei prefati dignius vel liberius tenent . testibus . Willelmo de Ipra . 7 Henrico de Essexa . 7 Johanne filio Roberti filii Walteri . 7 Roberto de Novoburgo . 7 Mamseū Britoñ . 7 Turḡ . de Abrincis . 7 Willelmo de Sancto Claro . 7 Willelmo de Dammartin . 7 Ricardo filio Vrsi . 7 Willelmo de Auco . 7 Ricardo filio Osb . 7 Radolfo de Wi . 7 Eglin . 7 Willelmo filio Aluredi . 7 Willelmo filio Ernaldi . Apud Westmonasterium.

The actual date of the circumstances mentioned in

this document is a matter of question. Some biographers assert that Geoffrey de Magnavilla was created Earl of Essex by the Empress Mathildis. He was slain on the 14th September, A.D. 1144, and therefore this document must be prior to that date. There is an extract from the Empress's charter[15] to the Earl quoted in the *Historic Peerage*, in words varying from the foregoing.

12. A fine specimen in wax, faced with a dark red wax, or varnished, of the second type, in a very perfect condition, with the exception of a vertical crack, which has been repaired; it is appended by a closely woven bobbin of thread of two colours, originally perhaps purple and yellow striped, and is that from which Mr. Doubleday procured his cast of the second type, now deposited in the department of antiquities in the British Museum. The text is as follows:—

Stephanus rex Anglorum Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Baronibus et Omnibus Ministris et fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Angliæ ⁊ salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse et firmiter concessisse Gaufredo Comiti de Essexa omnia sua tenementa que tenuit . de quocunque illa tenuerit die qua impeditus fui apud Lincolniam ⁊ et captus. Et præter hoc dedi ei et concessi . ccc . libratas terre . scilicet Meldonam . et Niweport . et Depedenam . et Banhunte . et Ingam . et Phingriam . et Chateleam . cum omnibus suis appendiciis pro . c. libris. Et Writelam pro vj.xx. libris. Et Hadfeld . pro quater . xx. libris . cum omnibus appendiciis ⁊ illorum maneriorum. Et præter hec ⁊ dedi ei et concessi . in feodum et hereditatem de me et de meis heredibus sibi et suis heredibus . c. libratas terre de terris excaatis . scilicet totam terram Roberti de Baentona . quam tenuit in Essexa . videlicet Reneham ⁊ et

[15] *cf.* Cotton Charter, xvi, 27.

Hoilandam. Et Ambredenam . et Wodeham . et Eistañ . quam Picardus de Danfronť tenuit. Et Ichilintonam ⁊ cum omnibus eorum appendiciis ⁊ pro . c. libris. Et præterea dedi ei et firmiter concessi in feodum et hereditatem . c. libratas terre ad opus Ernulfi de Mannavilla . de ipso Comite Gaufredo tenendas . scilicet Anastiam . et Brachinḡ . et Hamam . cum omnibus eorum appendiciis. Et . c. solidatas terre ⁊ in Hadfeld̄ ad prefatas . c. libratas terre ⁊ perficiendas. Et præterea dedi ei et concessi custodiam turris Londoniæ . cum Castello quod ei subest . habendum et tenendum sibi et suis heredibus . de me et de meis heredibus cum omnibus rebus et libertatibus et consuetudinibus turri pertinentibus. Et Justicias . et Vicecomitatus . de Londonia . et de Middelsexa . in feodum et hereditatem . eadem firma qua Gaufredus de Mannavilla avus suus ⁊ eas tenuit . scilicet . pro . ccc. libris. Et Justicias . et Vicecomitatus de Essexa ⁊ et de Heortfordiscira . eadem firma ⁊ qua avus ejus eas tenuit . ita tamen quod dominia que de predictis Comitatibus data sunt ipsi Comiti Gaufredo . alicui alii a firma prefata subtrahantur . et illi et heredibus suis ad scaccarium computabuntur. Et præterea firmiter ei concessi ut possit firmare quoddam castellum ubicunque voluerit ⁊ in terra sua . et quod stare ⁊ possit. Et præterea dedi eidem Comiti Gaufredo et firmiter concessi . in feodum et hereditatem . sibi et heredibus suis . de me et de meis heredibus ⁊ lx . milites feudatos . de quibus Ernulfus de Mannavilla ⁊ tenebit . x . in feodum et hereditatem . de patre suo . scilicet . servicium Graalondi de Tama . pro . vij . militibus . et dimidio. Et servicium Willelmi filii Roberti . pro . vij . militibus. Et servicium Brienť filii Radulfi . pro . v . militibus. Et servicium Roberti filii Geroldi . pro . xj . militibus. Et servicium Radulfi filii Geroldi . pro . j . milite. Et servicium . Willelmi de Tresgoz . pro . vj . militibus. Et servicium Mauritii de chic ⁊ pro . v . militibus. Et servicium Radulfi Maled̄ ⁊ pro . ij . militibus. Et servicium Goisberti de Inḡ ⁊ pro . j . milite. Et servicium Willelmi filii Hervei pro . iij . militibus. Et servicium Willelmi de Auco pro . j . milite . et

dimidio. . Et servicium Willelmi de Bosevilla ⁊ pro . ij . militibus. Et servicium Math[ei] Peur[el] ⁊ pro . iiij . militibus. Et servicium Ade de Sumeri de feodo de Elmedona . pro . iij . militibus. Et servicium Rannulfi Britonis ⁊ pro . j . milite. Et præterea quicquid Carta Regine testatur ⁊ ei dedi et concessi. Omnia autem hec prædicta tenementa scilicet in terris . et dominiis . et serviciis militum . et in custodia turris Londoniæ . et castelli quod turri subest . et in Justiciis . et Vicecomitibus et omnibus predictis rebus et consuetudinibus et libertatibus ⁊ dedi ei et firmiter concessi. Comiti Gaufredo ⁊ in feodo . et hereditate de me ⁊ et de meis heredibus . sibi et heredibus suis ⁊ pro servicio suo. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod ipse et heredes sui post eum ⁊ habeant et teneant omnia illa tenementa . et concessiones ⁊ adeo libere et quiete . et honorifice ⁊ sicut aliquis omnium Comitum totius Angliæ aliquod suum tenementum tenet vel tenuit . liberius . et honorificentius . et quietius . et plenius . testibus . M[athildi] Regina . et H[enrico] Episcopo Wintoniensi . et W[illelmo] Comite Warrenniæ . et Comite Gisl[eberto] de Penbroc . et Comite Gisl[eberto] de Heortford . et W[illelmo] Comite de Albarm[arla] . et Comite Simone . et Comite Willelmo de Sudsexa . et Comite Alano . et Comite Roberto de Ferr[ariis] et Willelmo de Ipra . et Willelmo Mart[el] . et Baldewino filio Gisl[eberti] . et Roberto de Ver . et Pharam̃ . et Ricardo de Luci . et Turg̃ de Abrincis . et Adam de Belū. Apud Cantuariam.

Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, occupied that dignity between A.D. 1138 and 1149. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford, died A.D. 1152.

The date of this charter must be taken to range between A.D. 1141 (the capture of the King happening on the 2nd of February in that year) and A.D. 1144, the year of Earl Geoffrey's death.

13. A minute portion in brown wax showing the head and body of the equestrian figure, and part of the

king's body, and the eagle of the reverse. (British Museum, Lord Frederick Campbell's Charters, xiv, 6.) The date is not to be ascertained with the means at present afforded by historians.

Stephanus Rex anglorum Episcopo Roffensi . 7 Justiciariis. 7 Baronibus . 7 Vicecomitibus . 7 Ministris . 7 Omnibus fidelibus suis de chent ⁊ salutem . Sciatis me concessisse 7 presenti carta confirmasse donationem quam Ricardus de Luci fecit Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis lundoniæ . 7 Canonicis ibidem deo servientibus in Elemosinam de Terra que fuit Godefridi Beiuin servientis sui in Liesnes . Quare volo 7 precipio quod prefata Ecclesia 7 Canonici Eandem Terram bene 7 in pace Libere 7 quiete 7 honorifice teneant cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ita solutam 7 quietam sicut Carta Eiusdem Ricardi de Luci 7 Carta Willelmi de ipra testantur. Testibus . Ricardo de Luci . 7 Fulcone de Ollli . 7 Warñ de Luisōr . 7 Geruas de Cornhell. Apud Lundoniam.

14. Brownish white wax, containing only the right hand upper quarter of the seal: it has been repaired. (Brit. Mus., Cart. Harl. 43, C. 13.) The date appears to range over the period A.D. 1136–1147, with a strong probability of the issue of the document *circa* A.D. 1144.

Stephanus rex anglorum. Archiepiscopis. Episcopis. Abbatibus Comitibus. Baronibus Vicecomitibus Ministris 7 Omnibus fidelibus suis francis 7 anglis tocius Anglie ⁊ salutem . Sciatis me concessisse in perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee 7 Puerorum meorum . 7 pro incolumitate tocius regni mei . Deo 7 Monachis de Bordesleia . totam terram de Bordesleia . 7 totam terram dominicam de Bideford . preter illam quam villani ipsius ville tenent . ad tenendum eam bene 7 in pace 7 plenarie sicut eam dedi . G . comiti de Metll . Quare uolo 7 firmiter precipio quod predicti monachi terras predictas teneant . ita bene 7 in pace 7 libere 7 quiete 7 honorifice 7 Plenarie . In Bosco 7 Plano 7 pratis 7 pasturis .

In via 7 Semitis In aquis 7 Stagnis 7 molendinis . 7 Piscariis . 7 In Omnibus locis 7 rebus omnibus . Cum Soca 7 Saca 7 Toll 7 Team 7 Infangeneteoff . 7 cum Omnibus libertatibus 7 quietanciis ad terras illas pertinentibus . Et sicut carta ipsius . G . Comitis de Metlt qui eas eis dedit testatur quod tenere debeant . testibus . A . Episcopo lincolniensi . 7 Adeł . episcopo Carloliensi . 7 R . Cancellario . 7 Willelmo de Ipra . 7 Hugone Bigot . 7 Baldewino filio Gisleberti . 7 Inğ de Sai . 7 Ricardo de Curci . 7 Ricardo filio Vrsi . Apud Lincoliam .

The monastery of Bordesley was founded by the Empress Matilda in A.D. 1136, or according to another tradition in A.D. 1138. Gualeran, Earl of Mellent, went to the crusades in A.D. 1146. R., the Chancellor, is probably Robert de Gant, appointed by the king after his release from imprisonment; he died in A.D. 1153. Stephen laid siege to Lincoln in A.D. 1141 and 1144, and was recrowned there in A.D. 1147. It is during the second siege of Lincoln in A.D, 1144, that we must in all probability accept the origin of this document.

15. A fine impression in dingy white wax, on a label cut from the lower edge of the parchment, formerly among the Marquis of Westminster's muniments, and as such described by Mr. Way,[16] now Brit. Mus. Add. Ch. 19581.

Stephanus Rex Anglorum Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus et Baronibus et Ministris, et Omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Angliæ : salutem . Sciatis quia pro salute animæ meæ et Mathildis Reginæ uxoris meæ et Eustachii filii mei et Aliorum Puerorum meorum et pro Anima Regis Henrici avunculi mei, dedi et concessi Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ Radinğ et Monachis

[16] 'Arch Journ.,' xx. 291.

ibidem deo servientibus Manerium meum de Bleberia cum Omnibus eisdem pertinentibus . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod bene et in pace et libere et quiete teneant et in perpetuum possideant in bosco . et plano . in pratis et pasturis . in aquis . et molendinis . et cum omnibus aliis rebus . cum Saca . et socna . et Toll . et Theam . et Infangenetheof . et cum Omnibus aliis liberis consuetudinibus et quietationibus eidem Manerio pertinentibus, cum quibus Henricus Rex avunculus meus vel ego melius vel liberius tenuimus . et sicut ipsi Monachi melius et liberius et quietius tenent alias terras suas . testibus . M[athildi] Regina uxore mea . et H[enrico] Wintoniensi Episcopo fratre meo . et Rogero Episcopo Cestrensi . et H[enrico] decano de Waltham . et E[ustachio] comite filio meo . et W[illelmo] de Ipra . et W[illelmo] Mart[el] . et Ricardo de Luci . Apud Lond[oniam].

Mathildis the Queen Consort died 3rd May, A.D. 1151. Eustace the Prince died 10th August, A.D. 1152. Bishop Roger died in the Holy Land 16 April, 1148, and Henry, dean of Waltham, occurs in A.D. 1144, about which year I am inclined to place this document.

16. A specimen in porous white wax, the central part only remaining. From the same source as the last, No. 15., now B. M. Add. Ch. 19583. Robert the Chancellor is the only name that gives a clue to the date of the charter, which must be before A.D. 1153, the year of his death.

Stephanus rex Anglorum Comiti de Warenna ⁊ salutem . Precipio tibi quod permittas Monacos de Radinḡ tenere terram suam de Cateshulla . quam Gaufridus Purcel meo concessu dedit eis bene . et in pace . et libere . sicut carta mea testatur quam inde habent quam tenere debent . Et quicquid inde cepisti ⁊ totum eis juste reddas . Et si quicquid inde clamaveris ⁊ venias in Curiam meam , et tenebo inde

tibi plenum rectum . sicut de re corone méé pertinente . Et scias quod multum miror quod ipsos monacos inde laboras . teste Roberto Cancellario . apud oxon[iam].

17. In the 'Archæological Journal,' vol. xx., p. 293, is printed a charter with a seal, formerly among the Marquis of Westminster's muniments and now in the British Museum, Add. Ch. 19582. The seal is of the second type, and the text as given below:—

Stephanus Rex Anglorum R[ogero] Comite Warwicensi et Ministris suis : Salutem . Mando vobis et precipio quod terra et homines Monacorum Radinḡ de Rochintona sint bene et in pace et quieti de Danegelde et de omnibus aliis exactionibus sicut fuerunt quieti tempore Regis Henrici et sicut Carta Regis Henrici et mea eis testantur . et volo quod pacem habeant . Teste . R[icardo] de Luci . Apud Radinḡ .

Roger de Newburgh was Earl of Warwick from A.D. 1123 to 1153.

18. A very small fragment in red wax containing only the letters RE of the word *rex*. The seal is appended by a thick thong of skin plaited through the lower edge of the charter. British Museum, Harley Charter, 83. A. 24.

Stephanus Rex Anglorum . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis Abbatibus . Comitibus . Justiciis . Baronibus . Vicecomitibus . Ministris . 7 Omnibus fidelibus suis francis 7 anglis tocius anglie salutem . Notum sit universis tam presentibus quam futuris . pro salute animæ meæ . 7 anima Matildis Reginæ uxoris meæ . 7 anima Eustachii filii mei me concessisse 7 carta mea confirmasse donationem illam quam Ilbertus de Carencin fecit deo 7 ecclesiæ sanctæ mariæ de saltereia 7 monachis ibidem deo servientibus de terra quæ fuit Radulfi lafaited in gamelingeia . quam Walchelino Marescalldo meo pro servitio suo dedi . 7 de sexies Wiginti acris

terræ in sacresdena de dominio . 7 communem pasturam ejusdem willæ . 7 preterea sciatis me dedisse eis in elemosinam centum acras de bruieria . Quare volo 7 firmiter precipio ut monachi illi supradictas tenuras bene 7 in pace . libere 7 quiete teneant in perpetuam elemosinam . solutam 7 quietam ab omni seculari servitio 7 exactione sicut Ilbertus de carencin illam eis dedit 7 concessit ⁊ 7 carta sua confirmavit . Teste Willelmo Comite de albamarlia 7 Comite Simone . 7 Balduino filio Gileb[erti] 7 Waltero filio Roberti apud Norhamt' .

The date of this charter must be between A.D. 1146 the foundation of Saltrey Abbey, and the end of the King's reign. I am not, however, altogether satisfied with the general appearance of the text which seems an authentic copy rather than an original.

19. A minute fragment of the second type, in white wax. Durham Charter, 1ma 1mus Regalium R.I. Q.I. No. 16.

Stephanus Rex Anglorum Archiepiscopo Eboracensi et Justiciariis et Baronibus et Vicecomitibus et Ministris et Omnibus fidelibus suis de Eboraciscira ⁊ salutem . Sciatis me concessisse Hugoni de Puisato nepoti meo . Episcopo Dunelmensi Minariam de Werredala ⁊ ut faciat in ea operari quantum voluerit . Quare volo et precipio quod eam bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice teneat . et operari in illa faciat . ne super hoc aliquis eum vel suos inde disturbet . testibus . Henrico de Essex . 7 Ricardo de Luci . et Willelmo Mart[el] . Apud Lond[oniam].

The mention of Hugh de Puisato or Hugh de Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, to which see he was not appointed until the 31st of January, A.D. 1153, necessarily restricts the date of this charter to the concluding year of Stephen's reign. The king himself died on the 25th October, 1154. A curious fact comes

out that Hugh de Puisato was the nepos, nephew, or grandson of the king. This ecclesiastic was Treasurer of the province of York, and Archdeacon of the diocese of Winchester, previous to his elevation to the see of Durham. It is therefore possible that he was a natural son of Henry of Blois, brother of King Stephen, and Bishop of Winchester, and owed his church preferment to his relationship with that powerful prelate.

This second type is engraved by Sandford, plate B; —The *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. II. f. 3; Add. MS. 21056, fol. 4, reverse only:—Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, vol. i. p. 122; reverse only:—Knight's *Pictorial History*, vol. i. p. 420. Clarke and Holbroke's *Rymer's Fœdera*, sub regno, etc., etc.

The question of the king's right to the title of "Dux Normannorum," on his second great seal, requires consideration before we determine the date to be applied to the third seal of Stephen. Geoffrey, Duke of Anjou, the second husband of the Empress Matilda, invaded the Duchy of Normandy in A.D. 1144, and subdued it, keeping possession until the year 1150, when he conferred the power and title to his son Henry, afterwards King Henry II. of England. In this year Duke Henry performed homage to Louis VII. King of France for the same, and Stephen's actual right and power over the Duchy ceased in A.D. 1144. Whether he discontinued to use the title "Dux Normannorum" on his seals is a difficult point to decide. He never seems to have used the title in the text of the charters except in one instance quoted by the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*. It is quite likely that he felt loth to give it up. In

1834 the late Mr. Doubleday exhibited[17] before the society of Antiquaries a seal of the king with a legend alike on both sides, presumably "Rex Anglorum." Unfortunately, at the death of that gentleman his casts were in some instances dispersed, and the particular cast then exhibited is not now with the bulk of his collection at the British Museum. Judging from analogy this seal must or may have been employed between A.D. 1144 and A.D. 1154, but until more definite knowledge is acquired it is difficult to speak concerning it with that authority that I hope before long to be able to possess. At the same time, I cannot but think that some error has been made with regard to the locality of this seal, for a diligent search in the repository alleged to contain it, viz., the Duchy of Lancaster Office, has resulted in revealing no less than five impressions of Stephen's seals, but distributed between the two types of which I have described the principal details. The facts that Henry I. had a seal with legend alike on both sides, and that Stephen lost his right over the Duchy of Normandy ten years before his death, seem to indicate that such a seal as the one in question should exist, and it must be left to a future investigator to recover it and describe it. There can be no difficulty in assigning the position of the seal to be either the last in the series of Stephen's great seals, or (as I have shown the second type to have been employed in the year 1153-4, the last of the reign, in the charter respecting Bishop Hugh de Puisato,) to have been used contemporaneously with the second type during the concluding decade of the usurpation.

[17] 'Archæologia,' xxvi.

II.—NARRATIVE OF EXCAVATIONS IN A TEMPLE AT DALI (IDALIUM) IN CYPRUS,

BY R. H. LANG, ESQ.,

WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE VARIOUS ANTIQUITIES FOUND THEREIN, BY R. S. POOLE, ESQ., KEEPER OF THE COINS AND MEDALS, BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Read November 15, 1871.)

[The printing of this memoir has been delayed by unavoidable accidents. For the foot notes I am answerable.—W. S. W. V.]

THE richest antiquarian field yet uncovered in the Island of Cyprus is the site of the ancient city of Idalion.[1] The identification of the ancient site is undoubted, its name being still preserved to us in the slightly modified form of Dali. This city is believed to have been the centre of an independent Cyprian Kingdom till the sixth or seventh century B.C., when it appears to have been annexed to the Phœnician Kingdom of Citium.[2] Its temple to Aphrodite is

[1] The character of the ground at and round Idalium is well defined by the adjective Τραπεζοειδής. It was here that Adonis was said to have been slain. "Venantem Idalio vertice" (Prop. 11, 13.)

[2] Notices of Citium abound. It is enough to state here that of old it was famous (like Carthage and Halicarnassus) for its enclosed harbour—ἔχει λίμενα κλείστον—Strabo—and for its salt lake (Plin. xxx. 1, 7). Historically we know that it was besieged by Conon (Thucyd. i.), and that it joined Soli and Amathus in resisting Evagoras. It was also the birthplace of Ctesias. Three kings of it and Idalium are recorded on Phœnician inscriptions, Baalram, Malek-itan, and Pumi-

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celebrated by Virgil[3] and other ancient authors; and in the extent of the cemeteries which surrounded it, as well as in the richness of the objects they enclosed, we have unmistakable proofs of the importance and wealth of its ancient population. Some twenty years ago, on a rising ground which forms part of the site of the ancient town, a peasant of Dali found several vessels of gold, and the valuable relic known by antiquaries as the *Tablet of Dali*.[4] This tablet came into the possession of the Duke de Luynes, who published an interesting description of it in his "Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes." In the spring of 1868, not far from the site of this discovery, the Dali men whom I employed to search for antiquities, came upon (as it were) a mine of statues. Several of these statues were of colossal proportions, a circumstance which convinced me that their position was the site of an ancient temple.[5] Under this conviction, I resolved upon entirely uncovering the site, and was in-

itan, but the exact dates of their respective reigns are open to some doubt, so are omitted here.

[3] "Est Amathus, et celsa mihi Paphus, atque Cithera, Idaliæque domus." Æneid x. 51, 52.

[4] Dr. Birch has published the inscription on this tablet anew, in Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæol. vol. i. pt. Dec. 1872, with a transliteration proposed by Mr. G. Smith.

[5] Some curious notices have been preserved of the early form of Cypriote worship, apparently chiefly at Paphos. Thus Strabo speaks of a *ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον* there—and Tacitus (Hist. ii. 2, 3) notices the visit of Titus on his way to Jerusalem, and that he saw there "Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humanâ, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metæ modo, exsurgens. Max. Tyrius alludes to the same image: *ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἂν ἐικάσας ἄλλῳ τῳ ἢ πυραμίδι λευκῇ*, while a fragment of Athenæus (xv.) says that a certain Herostratus came there in the 23rd Olymp. *ἀγαλμάτιον Ἀφροδίτης σπιθαμιαῖον, ἀρχαῖον τῇ τέχνῃ, ὠνησαμενος ἦει φέρων εἰς τὴν Νάυκρατιν.*

duced the more to do so, notwithstanding the labour and expense, as on no previous occasion had any temple in Cyprus been systematically explored. Those who have undertaken such works, will easily understand the amount of labour which was involved in excavating and transporting to a sufficient distance the contents of a space about 130 feet square, and of a depth varying from 9 to 11 feet. Add to the resistance of a hard chalky grit, a personal exposure to an August sun of 130°, and some faint idea may be formed of the strain upon my antiquarian passion during nearly two months.[6] The discoveries, however, were so important and varied, that the labour was fully compensated, and I can now regard the site as the scene of some of my happiest although hottest hours. The interesting objects uncovered fittingly illustrate the nature of the worship of a very ancient people, and the leading characteristics of their sculpture, coinage, and writing; and it is on this account that I propose to give a short narrative of my excavations.

Taking the road to Limpia from the present village of Dali, we are led in a southerly direction, and at the distance of about half a mile we come to the base of two hills, between which the road defiles. Near us on our left, as we reach this point, is the site of the temple my men discovered. Passing it and continuing upon the road to Limpia, we enter a small valley, lying between the two hills, which to this day retains the name of Paradision or Grove. In no way now does it resemble a grove, but the name

[6] Mr. Lang's experience proved the truth of Martial's remark: "Infamem nimio calore Cypron" (ix. 91).

may be, I think, a relic of ancient times, and may indicate the site of the grove attached to the ancient temple of Idalion. These groves were, doubtless, simply gardens or grounds attached to the temple in which some of the mysterious rites of the pagan worship were performed.

I am not warranted in asserting positively that the temple we are about to describe was that of which Virgil speaks as dedicated to Aphrodite; indeed, as a matter of fact, the only perfect Greek inscription found on the spot is in honour of Apollo Amyclaios, while the Phœnician inscriptions refer to a god styled Reseph Mikal.[7] But this temple, as well as portions of others since uncovered, seem to me to favour the supposition that although each temple may have been specially sacred to one divinity, it was customary to receive and preserve within the precincts offerings to various gods. It is unlikely that Idalion possessed distinct temples to Aphrodite, Apollo, Ceres, Bacchus, etc., but offerings to each of them at their respective feasts may have been deposited in the chief temple of the city. Certain it is that no ruins have yet been found near Dali which can be compared in

[7] The name of this God appears under the modified forms of Reseph, Reseph Khetz, Reseph Mikal, and Reshep-itan, on the Phœnician inscriptions from Cyprus, and of Retsep on a gem which belonged to Mr. Consul Moore, of Jerusalem, and is now in the British Museum. From the meaning of the root of the word there is reason to believe that he may be identified with Ζεὺς Κεράυνιος. Dr. Birch has pointed out the existence of this word on an Egyptian patera described by him in Archæol. vol. xxiv., and it occurs also in Habakkuk iii. 5. The Greek inscription alluded to is dedicated by a certain Gerysmon (evidently the same as Ger-asmun; cf. Ger-Astoreth, Ger-Sakan, in the inscr. from Carthage). M. Peretié, of Beyroot, has, or had, an inscription reading Ger-sed, dated in the 50th year of the æra of Citium.

extent and riches with the temple I am now describing, and this circumstance naturally leads me to suppose that the field of my excavations is the site of the only temple in Idalion which is celebrated in ancient history.

The different epochs to which the monuments uncovered belong indicate that this temple must have flourished during several centuries, for some of these monuments are relics of a period, perhaps, as early as the tenth century B.C., while others are as late as the Ptolemaic and Roman eras. This fact appears to me of especial interest, as my discoveries may be presumed contain specimens of sculpture for nearly nine centuries. We must remember that though there were many dynastic changes during this long period, the religion of the people remained essentially the same. It was not until Christianity entirely put an end to paganism that shrines to Aphrodite or Apollo were shorn of their honour, and it was only then that the Temple of Dali was deliberately razed to the ground or allowed to fall into decay. On uncovering the ruins, no trace of masonry such as could have formed the superior walls of the temple was found, but in many places the lines of the walls, in stone, were indicated to a height of about two feet. It is certainly not impossible that the materials of the walls may have been carried off for other and more recent constructions, but I incline to the belief that the walls of the temple were composed of sun-dried bricks (a style of structure still universal all over the island) the more so that from a remote antiquity all the ruins we have met with exhibit the same absence of masonry for the walls. This circumstance may be especially re-

marked on the site of ancient Citium, the ruins of which are buried to a considerable depth, while the only masonry found is just what might fittingly have formed the basement of walls of sun-dried bricks. Such walls in their demolition or decay would cover the interior of the buildings with an extensive layer of *débris*. Both at Nineveh and Persepolis the walls would seem to have been similarly constructed, and tradition speaks of the same style of building as prevalent in Phœnicia.[8] Nothing has been found to show what sort of covering the building had; but as the frame-work of any such covering was probably of wood, we may suppose it to have been amongst the first relics carried away for the completion of more modern edifices.

The annexed rough ground plan of the temple as uncovered will convey to the reader some idea of its form. My impression is that the structure did not originally present any fixed plan, but that chambers were added as they became necessary, the earliest portion of the temple being that on the south-east side. The continued accumulation of votive offerings of such size and importance must have required, from time to time, extended accommodation.

Entering from the north we come upon two large troughs of solid stone, measuring respectively 4 feet and 5 feet in diameter, and set upon a base of masonry. These troughs were conveniently placed for the customary ablutions connected with the service of the temple. Their contents as uncovered afforded convincing proof of the iconoclastic violence of those

[8] See Birch 'On Pottery,' vol. i. page 155.

who destroyed the objects of worship in this temple. Thus we found them quite full of the heads of small statues, which, after being broken from their bodies, had been pitched pell-mell into the troughs. Nor, indeed, was this the only proof of the fury with which the statues had been destroyed. The majority of the colossal statues had their eyes knocked out (as noticed also in the case of the finest and latest monuments from Koyunjik), and in many ways bore distinct evidence of deliberate maltreatment.

To the south of these troughs there were three rows of statues not placed in straight lines, but the first and third on a gentle curve so as to meet at the extremities. This I conceive to have been an outer court, measuring 45 feet by 35 feet. The two fonts were in the centre; and, facing the visitor as he entered from the north, were the three rows of statues, colossal and small intermixed. The central figure was probably the fine statue represented in Plate I., as it was found near that spot. It was here that my men had made their first discoveries, and the statues they found were lying upon and around the pedestals shewn in the plan. These pedestals, at first sight, resemble seats, but from the position of the statues near them I had no doubt as to their original purpose; and this conviction was fully confirmed a short time after in excavating a temple at Pila, where, on one large pedestal of the same kind but of even greater dimensions, the feet and legs to the knees of a statue of heroic size were still *in situ*. Each statue terminated in a base which fitted into the hollow part of the pedestal, so that the statue stood erect. The pedestals varied in height from 2 to 3 feet.

Turning to the east, we enter the chief chamber of

the temple, and at its entrance were found the only columns discovered. These were of common stone, and simply fluted. The pavement of this chamber was nearly entire, composed of stones of about 4 inches in thickness, 3 to 4 feet in length, and about 1½ feet in breadth. This apartment was very full of statuary, and the pieces of colossal size were especially numerous. It was here that the Phœnico-Cypriote, Phœnician, and Greek inscriptions were found. At its eastern extremity were two raised daïs, ascended by steps on their northern sides. In front of each of these, were two pedestals of large proportions, the one adapted to hold a colossal statue, and the other, which was close by, plain at the top. I may here mention that in the vicinity of the pedestals the earth was always largely impregnated with charcoal; indeed, so invariably was this the case, that the workmen regarded the presence of this charcoal as a sure indication that they were close upon a statue. Daily the recurrence of these signs roused the enthusiasm of the men, and several would gather round the phenomenon to be assured of a share in the anticipated prize. The leg or the arm of a statue which soon appeared was uncovered with double-quick eagerness, but too often the highest hopes were doomed to disappointment, the leg proving to be an amputated limb, or the body a headless torso. In the stratum (if we may use the expression) of charcoal, of which we have been speaking, bones of animals were generally found, but only in limited number, and mostly fragments, such as teeth and joints. Specimens of these I have preserved, and among them are the teeth of bullocks, sheep, camels,

and swine in good preservation. On three occasions the men drew my attention to tiny bones, which they insisted upon describing as infants' bones. They crumbled to the touch, and could with difficulty have been preserved. Unfortunately at the time I gave no heed to the description of the men, thinking it improbable that they could be infants' bones, but I I now regret my inattention, when I remember the holocaust which was common among the Phœnicians, and which may have been offered within this temple. I could not detect the traces of blackening from charcoal upon the top of the empty pedestal which frequently stood next to the statue. Perhaps this pedestal was intended to receive the votive offerings to the god whose statue was near. The presence of the bones and charcoal together may indicate that the fire, and the part of the animal to be offered were brought near to the image of the deity, but it is evident that only a small portion of the animal was offered, as, in every case, the bones found were in limited quantity. It was most common to find the teeth, so that the head may have been the portion usually selected. The size of the chamber we have been describing was about 50 feet square, and it was certainly the most important one in the temple.

From the south-east side of this chamber another on a higher level by two feet was entered. Two steps, 10 feet in length, led up to this inner shrine, and at each extremity of the steps stood a large pedestal, which, doubtless, once supported a colossal statue. The pavement of the first half of this second chamber was similar to that on the north side, but

further on we came upon masonry in the form of an arch, and within the walls of this arch the floor was covered with paving-stones of gypsum, such as are in common use at the present day. Within this arch, we found no statuary, but on a higher level, outside the walls, were found the oldest specimens of sculpture, many of them blackened with charcoal. To the east of the arch, and at a height of about 4 feet above the pavement, were found in very bad preservation, a mass of curiously rude terra-cotta figures of horsemen, etc., thrown together pell-mell.

My explanation of these coincidences is that the arch and gypsum pavement were constructed after the overthrow of the temple, and that the objects found at the higher level were thrown up when clearing to build the arch. The whole of the objects in this part of the temple were of a ruder and more ancient type. We found no inscriptions, nor objects in stone as in the other chambers, and my impression is that this portion, with the exception of the arch, was constructed at an earlier time than the rest of the edifice. Judging by the inscriptions, the treasure, and the monuments, our temple would appear to have flourished most about the close of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century B.C., and it was perhaps about that time that the outer court and the first chamber were added to the interior and more ancient shrine. To the west of this more ancient part, I hope to extend my excavations, as I think there is still a part of the temple in that direction. Having bought the whole of the ground, I trust that some day my desire in this respect may be gratified, should the

late stringent orders of the Sublime Porte be relaxed.

Let us now return to the point at which we entered the temple by its northern side. To the left as we enter, a well-paved chamber was uncovered, but no statues were found in it. Along its southern wall, and leading outward to the east, was a water-drain, by which probably the water of the court facing it was carried off. Possibly the court was open above, which would explain the necessity of a drain to carry off the rain-water. In this apartment, underneath one of the paving-stones, was found the more ancient of the two treasures of coins described in an article read to the Numismatic Society. The coins were adhering to each other in a conglomerate mass, being cemented by the fine parts of the chalky soil, and the mass was in size about as much as could be encompassed by two hands. I have no hesitation in maintaining my first impression that these coins, when deposited, were contained in a small bag which had been utterly destroyed by time. Too keen to allow anything to pass without examination, my head man took out his knife and cut the edge of one of the coins. Thanks to the purity of the silver it cut easily, whereupon he exclaimed with bitterness to the men, "They are lead." "Stupid people, why did they not make them of gold?" I replied, and maintaining an air of indifference, got off with a very small "backsheish." The coins appeared at first in a hopeless condition, but a month of long winter evenings over a charcoal fire enabled me to bring a few hundred of these pieces into a presentable state. To the west of the troughs was another chamber, well

built and well-paved, but, as in the case of the last-mentioned one, no statues were found in it. The line of wall in this chamber was indicated in stone to a height of about 2 feet, and the position of the doorway in the centre of the front wall was well defined. Between the two last-mentioned chambers, I found two pieces of masonry which had formed the top of a doorway. The ornamentation on these stones is in a very ancient style, and being heavy, it is probable that the position in which they were found is nearly that they originally occupied. Perhaps between the two chambers there was a passage communicating with the central court. Behind the chamber in which the former treasure was found there was another, and in this, underneath a strangely-shaped conical stone, a second treasure of silver coins contained in two little jars was discovered. The portion of the temple of which this chamber forms a part is to me still an enigma. The rooms in which the treasures were found may have been priests' chambers.

Following in a northerly direction the main entrance of the temple, I found below the paving-stones, and completely concealed by them, a flight of three steps in perfect preservation. Perceiving that I had not yet reached the virgin earth, I continued the excavations to a depth of about 5 feet, when I came upon pedestals and mutilated statues in considerable number, and a large common terra-cotta water-jar broken by the pressure of the soil around it, but as it was filled internally and surrounded externally with earth, it retained its original position. I also found a quantity of beads, amulets, and charms. The most northerly point to which I extended the exca-

vations brought me to another water-drain formed of well-cut slabs of stone. Only further excavations for which I had then no time, and have now no permission, can explain whether this was a shrine of the same temple at a lower level, or the first revelation of a distinct structure. To the east of the three steps the earth was largely impregnated with charcoal.

I have thus endeavoured to give a brief account of the portion of the temple which has been uncovered. There is much still to be done, and many objects of interest may yet be found. The imposing array of statuary which met the eye of the visitor as he entered the temple in the days of its glory may be conceived, when I say that the headless statues which strewed the ground must have represented 1000 pieces of sculpture, of which nearly 100 were of colossal or heroic size. The treasure-trove tells us of the wealth of the temple, the tiny feet in bronze, still adhering to some of the marble slabs, speak to us of works of art of the highest value which ruthless plunderers destroyed and carried off, and the inscriptions preserve to us a record of the royal favours which the temple received during several centuries.

I shall now proceed to make a few remarks upon the sculptures found in the temple. To describe all the pieces of interest, would require too much time, and I shall therefore limit myself to those which appear to show the progress and steady advancement of the art from an early period to close on the Christian era. For a proper comprehension of Cyprian antiquities, we must, however, keep clearly in view the principal epochs into which the early history of the island may be divided.

The earliest historical knowledge we have of Cyprus is about B.C. 1500, when Thothmes III. made the Island subject to Egypt. We do not know how long this dependence upon Egypt lasted, but by the 12th century the internal weakness of Egypt was such that she could no longer make her power respected in distant provinces. The most brilliant period of Cyprian history was about the beginning of the eighth century B.C., when, divided into nine kingdoms, the Island exercised an important influence abroad, was acknowledged mistress of the sea, and even threw out foreign colonies. Thus the earliest period of Cyprian history (to which doubtless belong the most ancient of the monuments to be described) may be subdivided into, 1st, a time when subject to Egypt, and 2nd, a time when the Island enjoyed autocratic government. During all this period, Cyprian art doubtless received its chief foreign inspirations from Egypt, and hence the Egyptian characteristics observable in many of the earliest monuments. This era closes with the subjection of the Island to Assyria, about the middle of the eighth century B.C.

In the succeeding epoch, a new influence is introduced. Egypt was temporarily eclipsed by Assyria, and it was natural that the intimate relations arising between Cyprus and Assyria should affect the character of Cyprian art. In this respect, the visit of the seven Cypriote kings to the court of Sargon, accompanied, as they doubtless were, by many of their most influential subjects, must have had an important influence. We can fancy how these simple islanders were dazzled by the sight of

monuments which, even now, after a sleep of centuries, excite the admiration of the civilized world, and how they carried back to their homes new ideas of the art of sculpture. In the latter part of the sixth century B.C., we have again a short period of thirty years when, under the rule of Amasis, the dominant influence in the island was probably Egyptian. We may call this the third epoch.

In the beginning of the fifth century, Greek sculptural genius was influencing all works of art, and in Cyprus, as elsewhere, we find imitations of its wonderful freedom, truthfulness, and originality. Persia then wielded the sceptre of government, but Greece was master of the world of art. This epoch, which we may call the fourth, was a period of transition in Cyprian art, and also a dark age in the history of the Island. It was marked by brilliant but abortive efforts for Hellenic supremacy, which, unfortunately, greatly reduced its material prosperity. The Greek population, suspected in its loyalty, was oppressed and kept down by its foreign rulers, while the Phœnician colonists, in whom Persia found a stronghold, increased in power and obtained a large accession of territory. This I conceive to have been the epoch of the dynasty of Melik-itan,[9] whose votive offerings adorned the temple of Idalion. But as the power of Persia fell to pieces, so the Hellenic party in Cyprus revived, and under the commanding influence of Evagoras I., King of Salamis, Greece exercised a dominant power in Cyprian

[9] Mr. Lang's statement must be taken with some modification, as, so far as we know from inscriptions, no ruler bearing this title can be proved to have been reigning earlier than B.C. 385, if so early.

art and civilization. Unfortunately, we possess comparatively few fine specimens of the artistic style of this and of the two succeeding centuries. The luxury of the period led to the employment of more valuable materials, so that the objects naturally attracted the cupidity of future plunderers; and, hence, the only archæological relics we have of this fifth epoch are a few coins of the choicest workmanship turned up by the ploughshare, a few gold ornaments which mysteriously escaped the ruthless riflers of the tombs, and some diminutive terra-cottas and broken fragments of statues.

Having drawn attention to these five periods, I shall briefly refer to a few of the sculptures and terra-cottas found in the temple, and classify them according to their probable dates. In this classification I may err, but it appears to me advantageous to assign an age to each style, and thus plainly invite comment and criticism from others better able to judge. I am heartily willing to be proved erroneous, if thereby the truth be elicited.

In Cyprus, it appears to me that the works in terra-cotta are of equal antiquity with those in stone, and that the two arts progressed in parallel stages. We shall begin with the series of terra-cottas.

No. 1 (Pl. V. No. 1) is a rude specimen of the art in its infancy. The head is destitute of any ornamentation; the shape of the eyes and the style of the eyebrows is very archaic, and the ears are without form.

No. 2 (Pl. V. No. 2) has a rude imitation of locks around the head. The eyes differ a little in shape from the last, and the pottery is finer.

No. 3 is of a size exceedingly rare in such ancient specimens. There is improvement in the treatment of the hair, and the pottery is fine. The dress, the stiffness of posture, and the knee joints, indicate a remote age, while the calves of the legs and treatment of the body seem to show some little effort after an imitation of nature. Probably we do not err in giving these three pieces to the early epoch in the history of the island, and the last and latest to the eighth century B.C.

No. 4 (Pl. V. No. 3) is of fine clay, and the better elaboration of the subject shows a marked advance upon No. 3, and makes us greatly regret that only the head remains to us of what must then have been a *chef-d'œuvre* in the potter's art. I would assign it to about 600 B.C.

No. 5 (Pl. IV. No. 2) is remarkable for the elaborate colouring imparted to the hair, and the careful execution of the ornaments upon the ears and neck. The eyes and eyebrows still mark the archaic period, and this piece, perhaps the finest yet found in Cyprus of that style, probably brings us down to the close of the sixth, or the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

Let us glance now at some of the stones; and I may mention that there seems to be more appearance of foreign influence in the changes which characterize the sculptures of Cyprus than in her terra-cottas. I explain this by the fact that Cyprus was, and continued to be, till a very late period, specially strong in the potter's art. Her soil gave her in this respect a great superiority over Egypt; indeed

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PLATE I

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PLATE IV

AUTOTYPE. LONDON

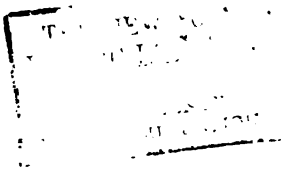

PLATE V.

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know that the island, as early as the time of Psammetichus, exported to Egypt the terra-cotta wine-vases then in use. Hence the progress we perceive in our terra-cotta statues indicates only a gradually increasing native power of portraying nature; in other words, a greater refinement in the treatment and ornamentation of the clay by the hands of the potter. It was not so with sculptures, and still less with bronzes, as both in their improvement exhibit foreign influence.

No. 1 (Pl. V. No. 4). It will be remarked that in this sculpture the eyes are of the same shape as in terra-cotta No. 1.

No. 2 (Pl. II. No. 2) also has a strongly Egyptian air; indeed, the nose is quite Æthiopian in its proportions and style. This piece and No. 1, I would associate with the first epoch in the history of the island, say about the 10th century.

No. 3 (Pl. II. No. 4) is thoroughly Cypriote in its type, which is distinguishable by the great prominence of the nose, breadth of forehead, cheek-bones highly marked, and a mild benignant expression of countenance. The turban around the head is interesting, as Herodotus tells us that the kings of Cyprus wore white turbans round the head.

No. 4 presents more ornamentation, and this head probably brings us down to the eighth century B.C., or the close of the first epoch in the island's history.

No. 5 presents some new features which I am inclined to attribute to an Assyrian or Babylonian influence. The treatment of the beard greatly re-

sembles that seen on a figure of a Babylonian king, represented in Professor Rawlinson's 'Five Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iii. p. 400, and it will be observed that this treatment, which has now appeared for the first time, continues till Greek influence becomes supreme. I am inclined to assign this head to the close of the seventh century B.C., and the second epoch in the history of the island.

No. 6 (Pl. I.) is the most important piece extracted from the temple. The physiognomy is strongly Cyprian; the eyes are better formed than in the former works, but the eyebrows still mark the archaic period. The treatment of the beard is that which I have ventured to attribute to Assyrian influence. The lips were originally coloured red, and probably also the eyeballs were coloured. This piece has been considered to represent the transition period, which I assign to the beginning of the fifth century B.C. There seems to me apparently a mingling of the Asiatic and Greek schools.

No. 7 (Pl. V. No. 6) is a head of the greatest interest. The type is still Cyprian, but the eyelids are very slightly marked; the hair, falling upon the shoulders in twisted curls, is managed with skill; a diadem encircles the head, which is also surrounded by a wreath of leaves. I suppose this head to be a little later than No. 6, say about 450 B.C.

After this the Asiatic character of the Cyprian sculpture fast yielded to Hellenic influence; and out of the dark period in Cyprus history we are

brought to the Evagorian era, when the world of art had bowed to the genius of Phidias. To the dark period, say 450 to 400 B.C., I would attribute a class of sculptures which seem to be bad imitations of the archaic art, and which are especially distinguishable by the unartistic treatment of the mouth, eyes, and indeed the whole face. An eminent judge in these matters has called these marbles pseudo-archaic, and I conceive them to be the evidences of a depression in art, as well as in material prosperity generally.

The revolution in art which is observable after this dark period is easily distinguished by reference to

No. 8 (Pl. V. No. 5), and No. 9, and No. 10, which are good specimens of Greek sculpture. The new treatment of the eye and mouth is especially remarkable.

The archaic eyebrow is also gone.

In the few bronzes which escaped the eye of the pilferers of our temple, we find a close imitation of the Egyptian school both in subject and treatment. I suppose them, however, to have been made in Cyprus.

I have incidentally referred to two treasures of coins found underneath the paving-stones in the chambers of this temple. These coins were described at some length in a paper printed in vol. xi. of the 'Numismatic Chronicle' (new series); and it is unnecessary now to do more than to call attention to the value of this discovery. In the paper alluded to I may have somewhat exaggerated the age of these coins—this a little criticism, always wholesome, will put right—but

I can say, without any fear of dispute, that they form a remarkable series, starting, as they do, from the infancy of the moneyer's art, when only a rude and imperfect obverse had been accomplished. The date assignable to the earliest and latest of these coins appears to me a question of great numismatic interest; and, by the settlement of this point, we may hope to fix with more precision than has hitherto been attained the various epochs of Cyprian coins previously to Evagoras. These treasures are further extremely interesting as probably affording specimens of the contemporaneous coinage of the several different kingdoms in the island. We find in them *five* distinct types bearing legends in Cyprian letters, and *one* type with a Phœnician legend.

Our excavations were also peculiarly successful in the matter of inscriptions, having yielded us specimens of Phœnician, Greek, and Cyprian. Four of the first, as read by my friend Mr. Pierides, of Larnaca, have reference to kings of a Phœnician dynasty reigning in Citium and Idalion, who made dedications in our temple to a god styled in Phœnician Reseph-Mikal.[10] A fifth is of some length, and has not been fully translated, but appears to be-

[10] The inscriptions procured by Mr. Lang up to the writing of this paper would seem to be the following:

1. *Five lines* of Phœnician—the offering of a woman for three children to Reheph-itan? in the 57th year of Citium.

2. *Two lines* of do. to Reseph-mikal by Malek-itan in the 2nd year of his reign.

3. *Two lines*—to the same god by the same king, but undated; the stone broken in half.

4. *Two lines* broken but restorable, an offering of Pumi-itan, the son of Malek-itan, in the 8th year of his reign.

long to the reign of Ptolemy the Second. One perfect Greek inscription contains a dedication to Apollo Amyclaios, and presents a feature of interest in the date attached to it. On several slabs of soft stone I could perceive traces of Cyprian writing; and that we have not a larger number of inscriptions in that language I account for by the fact that the material on which the Cypriotes generally recorded their dedications was a friable limestone of little durability. The most valuable monument uncovered by my excavations is unquestionably the bilingual inscription in Cyprian and Phœnician, engraved on marble; an inscription which, I feel confident, will ultimately prove the means of enabling philologists to decipher the Cyprian alphabet.[11]

In the legends of many of the coins, as well as in the inscriptions, we have brought before us a people with an alphabet of its own, which, at least, when these works were executed, was the predominant race in the island. This people and their alphabet I have styled Cypriote; but the question natu-

5. Originally in *five lines*, but much shattered. Line 1 is quite lost, l. 2 nearly so. The name and descent of the offerer may be gathered by comparing what remains of l. 2 and 3.

6. The bilingual Phœnician and Cypriote, 3 lines of former (a portion lost but restorable) and 3½ of Cypriote. In the 4th year of Malek-itan=385–4=B.C. 381. Besides these, two or three Phœnician inscriptions from Cyprus are in the Louvre. The character of the Phœnician is distinctly Cypriote, and a descendant of that on the Sarcophagus of Eshmunazar about B.C. 600.

[11] Mr. Lang's confidence in this matter has not been misplaced, and though there are still one or two points requiring further confirmation, scholars will generally accept the results arrived at, partially by Mr. George Smith and Dr. Birch, and more completely by the late lamented Dr. Brandis. For this inscription, see Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæol. parts i. and ii.

rally arises,—"Who were they, and whence came they?" Most writers upon Cyprus inform us that the island was peopled by colonies from Phœnicia, and we are led to suppose that previously to the arrival of these Phœnician colonies it was uninhabited. But there does not appear to me any ground for this supposition. On the contrary, there are many and strong arguments to prove that the island possessed a population of its own with whom the Phœnicians came to trade, and that the Phœnicians in Cyprus were simply foreign settlers in an already-peopled country, and only exercised a supreme influence in certain parts of the island. The evidence afforded by the treasures found in the temple is important on this point, as they appear to show us that five out of the seven Cyprian kingdoms then recorded in history issued coins bearing Cyprian letters. The bilingual inscription proves also that the two alphabets, Phœnician and Cyprian, had a contemporaneous existence. One of these alphabets was certainly used by the Phœnician colonists, and the other must be that of a native population, probably aboriginal. This evidence of the co-existence of the two languages appears to refute, in a manner beyond all doubt, the idea that the first inhabitants of the island were Phœnician colonists, and also renders less probable the suggestion of the Duke de Luynes that the Cyprian was simply a modification of the Phœnician alphabet.

This granted, it remains to show to what family of peoples the aboriginal inhabitants of Cyprus belonged. In Genesis we read (ch. x. ver. 4),—"And the sons of Javan; Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Doda-

nim." (Verse 5.),—"By these were the Isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands," etc. In other words, we are told that the inhabitants of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim, or Rodanim, were of the Javanian (or, as we have it later, the *Ionian*) family. It will be admitted that the Kittim alluded to by the author of Genesis was Cyprus, and, if so, then we have the testimony of the most ancient ethnological record extant that the original inhabitants of the island were descendants of Javan, and part of the great Greek family with which, even in our days, the Cypriotes are closely allied. One circumstance, which has been generally overlooked, adds considerable weight to the testimony of the writer of Genesis, if we suppose him to have been Moses, who was brought up at the court of Pharaoh. In the time of Moses the island was actually a possession of Egypt, having been conquered by the Egyptian fleet under Thothmes III. This testimony, then, with regard to the inhabitants of Cyprus, was probably based on authentic information possessed by the court of Pharaoh.

Whence this population came to the island we can only conjecture.

When treating lately of the Cyprian alphabet in a paper read to the Biblical Society of Archæology, I had occasion to show its similarity to the alphabet of Lycia, and this circumstance leads me to suggest that an offshoot of the great Aryan emigration which peopled Lycia may have crossed the Cilician Sea, only about fifty miles broad, and penetrated into Cyprus.

Of this ancient people, whom, to distinguish them, I call Cypriote, the old inhabitants of Idalion were a

part. Their attainments in sculpture we perceive in the early statues from this temple, their currency we have in the five classes of coins bearing Cyprian legends, and their writing has, I hope, found its key in the bilingual inscription. It will afford me the highest satisfaction if my excavations in Idalion have helped to elucidate the question of the early inhabitants of Cyprus, their language, their worship, their customs, and their arts.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ABOVE EXCAVATIONS.

BY R. S. POOLE, ESQ.

The recent discoveries in Cyprus afford materials for a new chapter of Archæology. For this purpose Mr. Lang's collection from the temple of Idalion (Dali) is second in importance to none. It was formed with the utmost care under the eye of the discoverer, who was not deterred by the extreme heat of summer from personally superintending his labourers, and it presents everything of interest found in a temple where each known style of Cypriote art was represented. The object of these notes is to endeavour to define these styles, and to do something towards determining their sequence.

First, then, what are the styles represented in this collection? Let us begin with the known and ascend to the unknown.

The latest works are obviously of the early Roman age, of the Macedonian age, and of the age previous to that, as far back as the date of the Mausoleum. This

group contains two great divisions, one of works of Greek style, marked in most cases by a provincial character, and the other of what may be called hieratic copies of older forms in two distinct styles. The first division, that of works of Greek style, is of importance as affording evidences of date. It is difficult to point out in it any specimens undoubtedly of Roman time. Of unmistakably Macedonian work are several heads, which may possibly be portraits of one of the Ptolemies. They most resemble the heads supposed to be of Philadelphos on coins assigned to him. Still earlier is a head showing the influence of Greek art of the time following Pheidias. (Pl. V. No. 5.) It resembles in style the head of the statue of Maussollos; and, if of the time of Euagoras, when nearly all Cyprus was ruled by a single Greek king, it would be a little earlier in date. We thus reach about B.C. 400. The second division, that of hieratic copies of earlier forms in two styles, unquestionably belongs to the same time. This is evident from the fact that the works found in Cyprus of the parent styles can only be placed in the age before B.C. 400. Besides, it is impossible that most of the copies can belong to a time when works of fair style were produced; in other words, most of them can only be of the Roman age, or but very little before it. The two hieratic styles are respectively Greek, with generally an Assyrio-Persian tinge, and debased Egyptian. Examples of this Greek hieratic style may be seen in the first three figures in Plate III., the centre one of which has almost lost its hieratic qualities, and two examples of the debased Egyptian style are given in the two standing figures beneath, which show a re-

markably fixed type: another, preserving much of the earlier and better proportions, is given in Plate IV. (No. 1). It represents a priestess carrying in her right hand a lamp. We may reasonably expect to find the earlier originals from which these two styles sprang, and this is the case. The Greek hieratic style appears to have but a single source, a style of Assyrio-Persian character, with a Greek tinge. Thus the predominant element was first Asiatic, afterwards Greek, when the Asiatic element was sometimes altogether excluded. There are indeed earlier Greek works, but they are of the archaic age; and neither at Idalion nor elsewhere in the island has anything Greek been found of the age between the archaic and about B.C. 400 (that of the finest art), and, indeed, very little that can be placed between that date and a hundred years later. There is thus no series of links. It may therefore be inferred that the preponderance of the Greek element in this hieratic style as that of the oriental element in its original is due to political influences, and that the later style is not the result of the fusion of two distinct earlier ones. The Egyptian hieratic style has, as might be supposed, but a single source. The two earlier styles of which the hieratic ones are debased descendants are like them of foreign character, not actually foreign. Though the earlier works more nearly resemble the models from which they were copied, they could never be doubted to be copies.

The Assyrio-Persian style is represented in this collection by a large number of heads, and the upper half of a colossus. The earliest of these are distinctly archaic, the latest of a developed character which is

more advanced than the Æginetan in Greek art. The upper half of the colossus (Plate I.), probably represents the chief divinity of the temple, or, if it were dedicated to more than one, the chief object of the Phœnician worship of the temple. Certainly, this is the largest and most important statue found in the temple, and near it stood, in its original position, the largest pedestal, corresponding to it in size. Being of the most developed character of the style, this work is consequently of its latest period: subsequent works are distinctly hieratic. In examining this colossal statue we are immediately struck by a resemblance to Persian art. It is, however, on the whole, rather of Assyrian than Persian character, and the resemblance to Persian art might be due to a common derivation. If Persian art is the descendant of Assyrian, such could be the case. The head of this colossus differs from the earlier heads of the same class very much as the sculptures of Persepolis differ from those of Nineveh. However, the Persian rule of the island must be taken into account. That oriental influence twice made itself felt is perhaps most probable. A later example is given in Pl. V. (No. 6).

The Egyptian style is much more rare in the collection than the style just noticed. The largest specimens found by Mr. Lang were dug up in what he holds to be probably the oldest part of the temple, and they were generally much worn. The latter circumstance would be of no weight were it not that the material of all the statues is a very friable limestone, and that the latest ones are almost or wholly free from signs of wear, having been buried in the ruins

of the temple when paganism was abandoned, or perhaps long before. We thus obtain something like a measure of the age of particular styles, though it must be most cautiously used, as portions of the temple may have been neglected in consequence of a change of rule. We cannot therefore venture to say more than that the Egyptian style belongs to the earlier period of the temple. Four instances of this style are engraved (Pl. II. Nos. 1, 2, 3; Pl. V. No. 4), three heads and a torso. The heads are less directly copied than those of the Assyrio-Persian style. This is evident in the treatment of the beard in all, and the representation of the moustache in two. The more naturalistic character of the expression, compared with what is seen in pure Egyptian work, gives these heads a resemblance to those of the statues executed in Egypt under the Shepherd Kings, but we can scarcely doubt that this is accidental. The torso is strikingly Egyptian, being a repetition of a statue of a Pharaoh, as is evident from the winged uræi attached to the girdle. Was the original a votive statue of a Pharaoh, and does this represent a King of Cyprus? The connection of Amasis with Lindos in Rhodes is worthy of note, and an Egyptian present may have been the pattern at Idalion. We can see from what remains that technically the statue must have resembled more than one of the same style in the Cesnola collection. It was, therefore, marked by a curious roundness and false muscle, unlike true Egyptian art, which, however, shows slightly these tendencies in its latest phases from B.C. 700 downwards. Its dissimilarity to archaic Greek is still more marked. In Plate IV. are two good examples of this style.

The first (No. 3) represents a priestess clad in a long robe, carrying a vase, and, on her left shoulder, a tripod altar. Immediately before her is a child similarly dressed, bearing a lamb on the shoulders, and holding a bundle of faggots with the left hand. The second figure (No. 6) is that of a priest wearing a conical cap, a short tunic, and a kirtle, holding a goat which stands on his right side, and a box, probably of ointment.

Closely connected with the two styles just noticed is another, sufficiently independent in its character to justify its separation. As it does not seem to be Assyrio-Persian, Egyptian, or archaic Greek, and as I do not find it represented in other countries, I have ventured provisionally to call it Cypriote. Two out of the three examples of this style engraved in Plate II. (Nos. 3, 4, 5) are masks; the third is part of a head in the round. It is not only the mask form which would seem to indicate that these works are descendants of terra-cotta originals, the technical treatment, at least of the beard, which is simply represented in outline, points to the same source. Unfortunately, works in this style are rare in this collection and elsewhere. Three terra-cottas of this style are engraved in Pl. V. (Nos. 1, 2, 3.)

Works of archaic Greek style are scarcely found in Cyprus. Happily, however, there are two very characteristic examples in this collection, and a third has been presented to the Museum by Mr. T. Sandwith, formerly H. M. Consul in Cyprus, and now holding the same office in Crete. The latest of these works is a mask of a diademed female head, part of the Lang collection (Plate IV. No. 5). It may reasonably be

assigned to the latter part of the sixth century B.C. The head presented by Mr. Sandwith is an earlier and very striking instance of the same style. The material is terra-cotta, and the treatment shows a certain tinge of what we may suppose to be Cypriote influence, a characteristic more strikingly shown in the very remarkable terra-cotta statuette, wanting the lower part, given in the same plate (No. 2). In this, although the general forms are what we are used to in archaic Greek work, the features are more strongly marked, the arrangement of the hair is more elaborate, and the ornaments are numerous and disproportionately large. Nothing could be more remarkably in contrast than the elaborateness of this subject and the simplicity of the archaic Greek head beneath it and the three Egyptian subjects (one of which is hieratic) and the Assyrio-Persian subject, a figure of Herakles, which occupy the same plate.

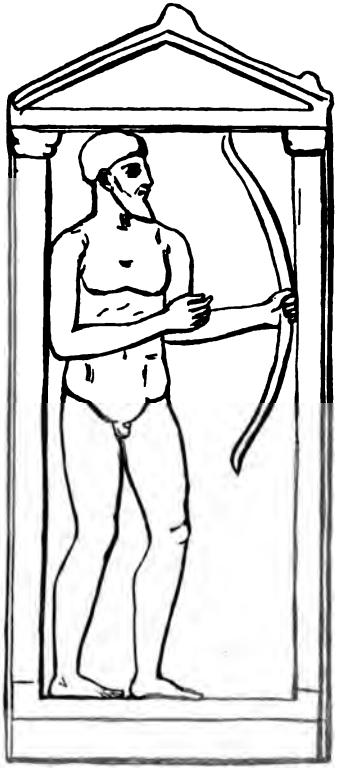
The excavations in the temple at Idalion have

afforded instances of another style, which deserves the name, notwithstanding its want of art, from its ar-

chæological importance. It is represented by small objects of terra-cotta, a few of which were dug up in what is thought by Mr. Lang to be the earliest part of the temple, and which are abundant in the tombs of this part of the island. They are extremely rude representations of naked warriors, mostly on horseback, bearded, helmeted, and armed with sword and shield: occasionally these warriors are in chariots. They have been supposed to be children's toys, but are much too abundant for this theory. In character they must be grouped with the rudest objects of bronze and terra-cotta found in the Greek and Italian islands. The resemblance of the whole large class to the warriors of the Mediterranean as represented on the Egyptian monuments is startling, as M. Chabas has pointed out as to the bronzes ('L'Antiquité Historique,' 2nd ed. pp. 300, 302). They may be provisionally characterised as Pelasgic.

There is one other style represented in the collection by a stele from the north-east of the island, added by Mr. Lang to the collection on account of its great importance. This tablet bears a relief in an extremely rude style, of which instances are afforded by rock-sculptures of Asia Minor. The subject of this example is a naked archer, helmeted, in a running attitude. Above the figure is a Cypriote inscription. This subject bears a striking resemblance to the rock-sculpture at Ninfi, supposed to be spoken of by Herodotus (ii. 106) as a stele of Sesostris. It must be remembered that, if the identity be admitted, the latter sculpture was in the time of Herodotus of really unknown origin, for it is certainly not Egyptian. The Cypriote stele is also remarkable for the difficulties

presented by its well-cut inscription, which appears to contain characters not found elsewhere. Still, it must be admitted that its aspect is not as archaic as



that of the Ninfi tablet, of which a copy may be seen in Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' vol ii. p. 174. The nearness of Cyprus to Asia Minor may explain the occurrence of this style in the island. It has no connection whatever with any previously noticed, unless, possibly, with the last one, which I have ventured to call Pelasgic. The extreme rudeness, the attitude of action instead of repose, and the absence of clothes, are contrary to the characteristics of all

except that barbarous style, and to the feeling of all Egyptian, Assyrian, and kindred work. The style may be called barbarous Asiatic.

The following styles may be considered to be provisionally defined by the preceding investigation.

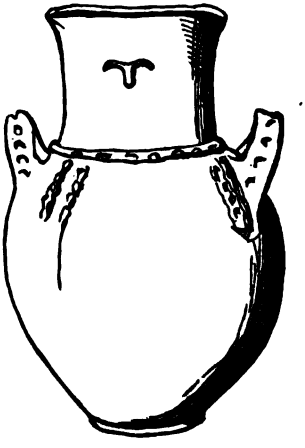
I. Of the period from the rule of Euagoras, about B.C. 400, to the fall of paganism, about A.D. 360.
   1. Greek.
   2. Hieratic.
      a. Assyrio-Persian.
      b. Egyptian.

II. Of the period before B.C. 400.
   1. Assyrio-Persian.
   2. Egyptian.
   3. Cypriote.
   4. Archaic Greek.
   5. Pelasgic.
   6. Barbarous Asiatic.

Let us now compare the evidence of the tombs in this part of the island with that afforded by this collection almost exclusively formed from a temple.

The tombs are nearly all excavations in the soft limestone rock, entered from above, and of sufficient size to contain several vases. There is a remarkable stone building at Kition, which may have been a tomb or a small temple. The ordinary tombs are, as I was informed by Mr. Lang and Mr. Sandwith during my visit to Cyprus, classed by the native excavators as containing πιθάρια large vases, or ὑαλικά glass vases, or else as burial places of poor men πτωχοί, and there can be no doubt that this classification, representing as it does a large induction, is essentially sound.

The πιθάρια are very large vases of the form of that engraved on the next page, found with smaller ones of various forms, all showing great variety of pattern. The earliest are of grotesque forms, and rudely ornamented with raised patterns: the specimen engraved from the Cesnola collection is remarkable



for its resemblance, which Mr. Newton has pointed out, to the vases from the Troad supposed by Dr.

Schliemann to represent γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη in the form

of an owl. The next class appears to be that of red and black ware with rude incised patterns of geometrical character, resembling the ornamentation of Celtic bronzes: of this I engrave a specimen, also from the Cesnola collection. Undoubtedly later, is a group resembling the archaic pottery of Mykenai, but reaching downwards in hieratic repetitions like the example here given from the Lang collection. A vase of this group, of archaic style, not of the largest

size, the property of Mr. Sandwith, is remarkable for a strikingly Egyptian design, an archer turning back to discharge his bow, and a charioteer, in a two-horse chariot. It may be remarked that, as M. Chabas has already noticed (L'Ant. Hist. p. 319), the natives of the countries of the Mediterranean are never represented on the Egyptian monuments armed with the bow or sling. The only instance of an

archer in the sculptures of Cyprus is on the stele of barbarous Asiatic style already referred to. The subject of the vase may be a direct copy of an Egyptian work, or both vase and stele may be later than the condition of the natives of the Mediterranean which the Egyptian monuments vividly bring before us. Very few vases are found which can be assigned with any degree of probability to the Macedonian period. There is, however, a group of red ware, resembling the so-called Samian, which from fineness of form and delicacy of execution seems unmistakably to be of the Greek period before the Roman rule. It is important, as affording a measure of the time during which these vases were produced, that the proportion of such as are undoubtedly archaic is very large, and far more so than is generally the case in other parts of the Greek world.

The ὑαλικά are certainly of the Roman period, and probably reach back into the Macedonian. It might be doubted whether any of these glass vases were anterior to the Roman age, but their abundance would induce us to suppose that here this material supplanted pottery earlier than elsewhere, an idea which the nearness of Phœnicia and Egypt, those great sources of ancient glass, seems to support.

In the tombs of the πτωχοί nothing whatever has been found but the small rude terra-cotta figures of which examples were discovered in the supposed oldest part of the temple at Idalion. The natives are so well accustomed to the unproductiveness of these tombs that as soon as they find one of the figures they say, in a tone of disappointment, πτωχοί! and make no further search.

The tombs seem to mark three periods of civilization:—

1. An age during which there was no art properly so called.
2. An age during which art advanced from a very archaic style towards development, although greatly retarded by some conservative element.
3. An age during which the island was in the same condition as the rest of the Greek and Roman world.

The antiquities found in the rest of the island, besides the few in Mr. Lang's collection, do not add many material facts to those we have derived from that collection. The pottery from Paphos seems finer in style than that from the district of Kition and Idalion, but all that I have seen is archaic. In the "salines," or salt-pits, near Kition, a great number of Greek terra-cottas have been discovered, some of beautiful style, all probably of the Macedonian period. They were no doubt the works of the Greek part of the population, and were probably objects of commerce with a religious purpose.

The inscriptions in the island are in three characters —Cypriote, Phœnician, and Greek.

The Cypriote inscriptions are rare. The most important is that of the bilingual tablet of Idalion, the key to the interpretation of this character. It is a votive tablet in Cypriote and Phœnician, found in the principal chamber of the temple. After some preliminary labour by Mr. Lang and Mr. Pierides of Larnaka, a great step was independently made towards its decipherment, and the consequent interpre-

tation of the Cypriote character by Mr. George Smith. Mr. Smith's labours were corrected and carried to a conclusion which may be regarded as almost final by the lamented Dr. Brandis, whose posthumous essay on the subject has at length appeared.

The language of Cyprus is now proved to be a dialect of Greek, which may possibly be of a peculiar type. The characters form an alphabet and syllabarium, in this respect like the phonetic Egyptian characters, whereas the cuneiform are purely syllabic. It has not yet been traced to any source. The resemblances to the hieratic and demotic forms of hieroglyphics, and again to the earliest cuneiform, and also to Phœnician, may be accidental. It is, however, remarkable that the Lycian and similar characters are in part different from the Greek, but that further west we find nothing but varieties of one alphabet, the Phœnician or primitive Greek.

It may be well to remark that if the Cypriote character were of Phœnician origin, it would necessarily have been anterior in date to the Moabite Stone, nearly B.C. 900, when the known Phœnician alphabet was already fixed. We have, however, no instance of the use of the Cypriote before the age of the dynasty of Kition and Idalion beginning B.C. cir. 449, unless indeed in the remarkable barbarous Asiatic stele; and it is very noticeable that the older temple of Golgos, which appears to have been wholly anterior to this dynasty, was not found to contain a single inscription.

The Phœnician inscriptions have been found at Idalion and Kition, those from the former site being part of Mr. Lang's collection. All the dated ones,

with a single exception, are of the Phœnician dynasty of Kition and Idalion. The exception is the Ptolemaic inscription from Idalion, which is of interest as showing the late date to which the use of Phœnician was here carried. The case is like that of the use of hieroglyphics in Egypt under the same Greek dynasty.

The oldest known coins bear either Cypriote or Phœnician inscriptions, the latter being of the dynasty of Kition and Idalion. It does not seem possible as yet to decide which are the older. These are followed by the money of Euagoras and of his dynasty, first with Cypriote and then with Greek characters, which lead to the Greek coinage of the Ptolemies and of the Roman emperors.

The evidence of inscriptions and coins taken together indicates the following ages:—

1. No written records yet found.
2. Cypriote contemporary with Phœnician.
3. Cypriote probably contemporary with Greek, and ultimately superseded by it.

We may now pass on to the very intricate question as to the sequence of the earlier styles of the Idalion collection, first inquiring whether any of them may have been contemporary with others, as in the case of the later styles.

There need be no hesitation in setting aside, as probably contemporary with native styles, the archaic Greek style, which is distinctly foreign with but small trace of native influence, which has no distinct relation to the other styles which have left records in the island, and which is principally represented by portable objects. The archaic Greek works, gene-

rally in terra-cotta, are no more indigenous than the Macedonian terra-cottas of the "salines." Both indicate the presence of purely Hellenic colonies.

The native styles form the subject of inquiry. It may be asked whether we may not suppose that, as in the case of their later successors, the Greek and the two kinds of hieratic, the older styles were contemporary, the products of the three races with different alphabets and languages living side by side in Cyprus. A very slight examination of the collection will convince any one acquainted with archæological inquiry that the Egyptian style shows but a limited degree of change, whereas great change is indicated in the Assyrio-Persian. Again he will see that there must have been a period during which the Assyrio-Persian style was dominant, to which it is impossible to assign Egyptian work, or, in other words, that there is a want of continuity in the history of these styles that could not be accounted for if we supposed the same conditions in the earlier age that we observe in the later. A law of the development of art appears to account for this difference. So long as art has any vitality, it obeys a regular principle of growth, maturity, and decay. This is true of Egyptian art, of Assyrian, admitting Persian to be its natural successor, of Greek, including in it Græco-Roman, of Gothic, and of Arab. It is only in a period when art has utterly lost its vitality that old styles are reproduced together, without any sense of their want of harmony. This was done in the last days of Greek art, and is now being done by both Easterns and Westerns, though nowhere with more melancholy results than among ourselves.

The question "what is the order of the indigenous styles," may therefore be asked. We can only see our way towards an answer by an intricate historical inquiry. It is not enough to know that Cyprus was divided from a remote age between three populations. We have to discover as far as we can the degree of influence these populations exercised upon the arts of the island at different times, and the character of that influence. For instance, it is highly probable that a period of Phœnician preponderance might introduce Egyptian, Assyrio-Persian, or Greek art, including Græco-Roman, according to the age at which the island felt its weight, if we accept the likely theory that Phœnician art took its colour from the art of each dominant race that in succession ruled the Mediterranean.

The geographical table of Genesis gives us the earliest notice of Cyprus. There the Kittim occur as a race sprung from the Javanian branch of the Japhethites, and thus as of a stock cognate to the early Greeks, rather Pelasgic than Hellenic. In the prophecy of Balaam we read of "ships from the coast of Kittim." Here the name has already become that of a country or city, and one renowned for its maritime enterprise. In the prophecy of Isaiah against Tyre, Kittim is evidently a country in the Mediterranean on the route between Tarshish (Etruria) and Phœnicia, and closely connected with the Phœnician cities. The connection of Cyprus with Phœnicia by the planting of a colony at Kition is thus carried back as early as Isaiah's time, the latter part of the eighth century B.C. Later, Kittim seems to be used for Greece. From the time of Josephus it has been

connected with Kition, the chief sea-port on the southern coast of the island. Few as are these data, they account for the chief phenomena of art in Cyprus. The barbarous Asiatic style is equally that of the older races of Asia Minor, and the small rude terra-cotta figures are like the earliest known works of the islanders of the Mediterranean.

The first certain mention of Cyprus by name in the Egyptian inscriptions is in the Greek period, occurring in the bilingual tablet of Tanis, a document of the reign of Ptolemy III., Euergetes. There the Greek words ἔκ τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου correspond to the Egyptian, "from the eastern Ruten, Keft, from the island Nabeenaee which is in the midst of the Great Sea." This name unfortunately has not been found in any earlier records, although there are several instances in which the conquest of the islands of the Great Sea or their submission is spoken of in inscriptions of Pharaohs, from Thothmes III. to Ramses III. inclusive (B.C. 1450 to 1150?). The name Keft or Kefta, which is shown here to mean Phœnicia, written in older documents Kefa, and called an island, has been usually connected with Cyprus, and held to correspond to the Biblical Caphtor, independently supposed to be a name of the same island. There can be no doubt of the identity of Keft with Caphtor, which is called in the Bible an island or coast-land.

The Egyptian rule of the eastern Mediterranean in remote times must have materially affected the early civilization of Cyprus. We must, therefore, notice the leading facts. Thothmes III., sixth sovereign of the Eighteenth Dynasty, whose reign cannot be placed

later than about B.C. 1450, received tribute from the Ruten and the Kefa, the later Keft. Under Ramses II., second king of the Nineteenth Dynasty (B.C. cir. 1300 to 1230), the natives of the Mediterranean began to show themselves warlike neighbours of Egypt. It must be borne in mind that the names we then first find do not necessarily fix the nations to their subsequent geographical positions. Under Ramses II. the Sardana and Tuirsha, shown by M. de Rougé to be the Sardinians and the Etruscans (Tarshish), were already enrolled as mercenaries in the Egyptian army, and the king of Egypt maintained a Mediterranean fleet. Manetho, indeed, assigns to either Setee I., or his son and successor Ramses II., the conquest of Cyprus and Phœnicia, but this statement has not yet been absolutely confirmed by the monuments. It is in the reign of the next Pharaoh, Menptah, son of Ramses II., that we first know of a serious conflict between Egypt and the Mediterranean nations. The King of the Lebu (Lubim, Libyans), taking advantage, it would seem, of some disaster that had occurred to the Egyptians, invaded Egypt from the west at the head of a great confederacy of migratory warriors who desired to conquer and settle. They were of three Libyan nations, the Lebu, the Mashuasha, and the Kehaka, and of the Sardana (Sardinians), the Shakalasha (Siculi), the Tuirsha (Tarshish, Etruscans), the Liku (Lycians), and the Akauasha (Achaeans). This attack, the story of which reads like the oldest instance of those great migrations which in later years have swept over Europe or Asia, was repulsed, to be renewed from the eastern side not long afterwards by a like confederacy. The great

military event of the reign of Ramses III. (B.C. cir. 1200) was the the overthrow of these invaders. This second invasion was mainly directed by the Pelesta (Philistines), and the Tekkaru (Teukrians ?), aided by the Shakalasha (Siculi), the Tuirsha (Etruscans), the Taanau (Daunians ?), and the Uashasha (Oscans ?), The nations which are new in this list are difficult of identification. The Pelesta have been hitherto identified with the Philistines, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that as the Lybians led the former invasion from the west into Egypt, the Philistines led the later one from the east, more especially as they were an aggressively warlike people. M. Chabas, however, thinks that the Pelesta are the Pelasgi. (L'Ant. Hist. p. 284, seqq.) There is no conclusive reason why they should not be both. Here it is important to observe the claim of the family of Euagoras to a descent from Teuker, which may possibly connect Cyprus with the Teukrians. M. de Rougé identified the Taanau with the Danai, but M. Chabas seems to have probability in favour of his idea that they are the Daunians. This confederacy met the same fate as its predecessor; and it is probable that the Egyptians long afterwards, perhaps for some centuries, held the dominion of the eastern Mediterranean. Without endeavouring positively to identify all these nations, it is sufficiently evident that at this early period, corresponding to the interval between the legendary colonizations of Greece from Egypt to the Trojan War, there must have been a constant maritime communication between Egypt and the islands of the eastern Mediterranean. And as it may be doubted whether there was any other

direct or indirect source of material civilization but Egypt for these islands, we may reasonably conjecture that their arts were originally derived from that country. By the time of the fall of the Ramses family (B.C. cir. 1100?) this influence must have gradually waned to give way to that of Phœnicia, though it will be seen that Phœnician art was originally Egyptian in character.

The history of the rise of Phœnicia is unknown, and it is not until the reign of Hiram, King of Tyre, the contemporary of David and Solomon (B.C. cir. 1000), that we have any trace of its influence over Cyprus. This sovereign reduced the revolted Kittians who had been tributary to Tyre. There can be no doubt that the Phœnician supremacy lasted for three centuries, until the Assyrians had reached the Mediterranean coast. Of Phœnician art during this time, we have several glimpses. It is clear that in Solomon's time the Phœnicians were great metal-workers, as Homer describes them. Specimens of their work are probably seen in the Idalion cup (Rev. Arch. N.S. xxiv. p. 304; xxv. p. 18), and, of a later date, in the cups from Nineveh. The first is a copy of an Egyptian work, the others are similar copies with an occasional use of Assyrian subjects. Still more markedly Egyptian is the sarcophagus of Ashmunazar, King of Sidon, in the Louvre, which is scarcely different from contemporary Egyptian ones, except in the details, and in its bearing a Phœnician inscription. The influence of Phœnician art during this age would probably have been almost identical with that of Egyptian.

When the Assyrians had destroyed the power of Phœnicia, the kings of Cyprus sent an embassy to

Sargon, King of Assyria, and it is reasonable to suppose that the monolithic tablet of this monarch found at Kition, now in the Berlin Museum, was sent in return. Perhaps about half a century later, Esarhaddon used workmen of Idalion, Kition, Kurion, Soli, and Paphos, then ruled by a Phœnician, for his palaces. This is a very significant fact in reference to the Cypriote style of that time. (Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' i. p. 483 and note 3.) The Assyrians no doubt retained their influence until the close of the reign of Assur-bani-pal, B.C. cir. 641. With this warlike king, who thoroughly humbled the power of Egypt, the greatness of Assyria came to an end. The Egyptians, under the enterprising Saïte King Psammetichus I., again became powerful in the Mediterranean. It has been even thought that they gained possession of Cyprus; this is, however, most unlikely, as in direct contradiction to the statement of Herodotus, an excellent authority for this age, who states that Amasis "took Cyprus, which no man had ever done before" (ii. 182).

The supremacy of the eastern empire was reasserted soon after the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, during the whole of whose long reign, B.C. 604–561, Babylon was mistress of the east up to the Phœnician coast, only reduced after a long struggle, though there is no information as to any relations with Cyprus.

The Babylonian empire had no real influence under the weak successors of Nebuchadnezzar, the close of whose reign must have been almost immediately followed by the conquest of Cyprus by Amasis, certainly not earlier than about B.C. 560. The island then became tributary to Egypt, and continued so until B.C.

525. The conquest of Egypt in that year was immediately followed by the submission of Cyprus. The utmost duration we can assign to the Egyptian rule is, therefore, thirty-five years.

From B.C. 525 Cyprus remained subject to Persia until Kimon the son of Miltiades almost restored its freedom, B.C. 449. The Phœnician dynasty of Kition and Idalion, with other local dynasties, now ruled Cyprus, and only rendered a partial obedience to Persia, until Euagoras King of Salamis obtained possession of the greater part of the island, and finally threw off his allegiance, but after a long struggle was obliged to submit, B.C. 385. In B.C. 351, Cyprus was again in revolt and again reduced and not finally liberated until the time of Alexander. Subsequently the island was acquired by Ptolemy I., and thenceforward formed part of the Macedonian kingdom of Egypt, until it was made a separate state for Ptolemy King of Cyprus B.C. 80. from whom it was unjustly taken by the Romans, B.C. 57.

From this sketch of its history we may infer as most reasonable that Cyprus was successively under Pelasgic, Egyptian, Phœnician, Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Persian influence. In the matter of art these influences would be only three: the Phœnician of the time in question having been virtually Egyptian, and the art of the Assyrians and their oriental successors having been again virtually one. Corresponding to these three classes, we find three chief styles of art in the island, Pelasgic, Egyptian, and Assyrio-Persian. What was the order of these classes, and did they overlap each other or recur?

A very careful comparison of all the Cypriote

sculptures I have seen, leads me to believe the Egyptian style to be the earliest. In M. Ceccaldi's excellent memoirs (Rev. Arch. N.S. xxii. p. 361; xxiv. p. 221; xxv. p. 31) on the subject a different theory is maintained, and the order proposed is Assyrian, Egyptian, and Anatolian, which last name is given to the style of the colossus of Idalion. The three statues represented in plate 1 of his supplementary memoir seem to me to contradict this theory, the style of the Assyrian and Anatolian being closely related, the latter being a manifest descendant of the former, whereas the Egyptian is quite unlike the Anatolian, and has but slight affinity with the Assyrian.

The origin of the Assyrio-Persian style cannot be later than the beginning of the Assyrian supremacy, soon after which Cypriote sculptors worked for the Assyrians at Nineveh. Accepting M. Ceccaldi's theory, we should be forced to place the Egyptian style, indicating a great change in art, during two short subsequent intervals in the seventh and sixth centuries separated by the intervening rule of Nebuchadnezzar. On the other hand, if we put the Egyptian style earliest, to which the place in the temple where the examples of it were found, and the small number of its hieratic copies—the remote being less copied than the near—equally lead us, but accept the dates given above, all the varieties of Assyrio-Persian art would be cramped into a period far too narrow for them, even if we suppose they began immediately with the rise of Babylon. It is, therefore, most likely that the influence of Egypt, probably first directly, and afterwards through Phœnicia, produced this remark-

able style which is unknown in the rest of the Greek world. The less important style, which I have called Cypriote, would, under this arrangement, easily fall into its place between the Egyptian and the Assyrio-Persian, during a time when the supremacy of Phœnicia was introducing modifications of Egyptian art like those of the metal bowls from Nineveh. Greek archaic art would be the work of Hellenic colonies sometimes affected by local influences.

The order of the styles to which our investigation leads would thus be :—1. Pelasgic, to which possibly the barbarous Asiatic stele belongs, the Cypriote character in that case being of great antiquity. 2. Egyptian. 3. Cypriote. 4. Assyrio-Persian. Future discoveries may overthrow the whole scheme, yet without an attempt at classification these most interesting monuments are unintelligible. I have, therefore, ventured to propose the theory stated in these notes.

III.—THE DEMETER OF KNIDOS.

BY PROFESSOR BRUNN.

(Read November 26th, 1873.)

"For beauty of form Greek art has no rival; in depth of expression it has been surpassed by the art of Christian times." Such is still the current judgment, and I now propose to test its soundness; to this end I will call your attention to the marble head of a goddess, of which the unassuming simplicity shows that in this work the artist aimed at something altogether different from abstract beauty of form.

The head now before you is in the British Museum, and there takes a high rank in the long series of ancient monuments acquired for that collection by the vigorous and judicious researches of Mr. Newton. The circumstances of its discovery are these: While his excavation of the site of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus was going on, Mr. Newton turned, in 1858, to Knidos, a city on the south-west point of Asia Minor, which once boasted the possession of one of the most celebrated works of antiquity—the statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles. Selecting as the scene of his operations a narrow terrace which runs under a steep cliff, he discovered, besides other sculptures, the statue of a seated female figure executed in a schistous marble, which had unfortunately suffered in many places from the effects of time (Newton, 'Discoveries at Halicarnassus,' etc.,

pl. liii. liv. lv. p. 375, *seq.*). The upper part of the drapery, in which the figure is closely wrapped, was found in good preservation, and presenting an admirable study, not only in the abundance of its fine folds, but also in the apparent carelessness with which it is worn. Arms and head were wanting till, by further search, the latter was discovered at some distance from the body. This head was of beautiful Parian marble, and fitted accurately to the neck, the original joint having been concealed, it is to be supposed, by a necklace, which may have been painted, though all traces of colour have disappeared. It was clear, from inscriptions which were found at the same time, that the place had been consecrated to Demeter, Persephone, and Pluto Epimachos; and, accordingly, Mr. Newton had no hesitation in identifying his statue with Demeter herself. The correctness of his conclusion will be obvious if we consider for a moment the nature and character of the goddess.

Judged by the meaning of her name, Demeter is simply the mother earth, and originally, therefore, hardly distinguishable from Gaea. In course of time, however, and owing to the different form which their worship assumed in different localities, the character of the two goddesses became distinct from each other in this respect, that while Gaea was taken to be a personification of the substance of the earth, Demeter was regarded as the goddess who gave life to and fostered that which was seen growing on the earth. She became the goddess of agriculture, and with it of those laws and institutions as to property, without which agriculture could not be successfully

prosecuted. Her daughter, Persephone, is a personification of the fruit of the field. The seed has to be cast into the womb of the earth, must decay, must be given over to death in order that new fruit, new life, may arise from it; and it is this process of nature which is described in a poetic form in the myth which tells of Persephone being carried off by Pluto, who is the god of death, and at the same time the god of the fertility latent in the earth. Demeter heard her daughter's cry, and with the despair and grief of a mother who has lost her only child, rushed in frantic haste searching everywhere without rest or food, and without success, until the all-seeing Helios told her what had been done. Hopeless and angry she withdrew from the world, the fertility of the earth ceased, and Zeus was driven to think of appeasing her. An arrangement was made by which her daughter was permitted to leave Pluto every Spring and to live with her mother on earth till Autumn, then to return to the lower world. From being originally a picture of the change of seasons as affecting the growth and decay of vegetable life, the myth came also to be a picture of human existence, changing and hanging between life and death, and in this way assumed an ethical and religious form. To what extent it may have operated in producing a belief in a future state, in a resurrection and immortality, as we understand it, cannot, of course, be ascertained. What we know is, that it constituted the essential part of the Mysteries of Eleusis, the secrets of which were preserved from publicity throughout the whole period of antiquity. 'Demeter, thou who trained my spirit, grant that I

may be worthy of thy holy rites,' prays Aeschylus (Aristophanes, Frogs, v. 886). Sophocles (Fragm. 719) exclaims, 'How very blessed those who, having witnessed these holy rites, go down to Hades, for to them alone is it given to live. The others have but misery there.' From such expressions we gather some idea of the profound signification attached to the Mysteries, which it is known were the true religious centre of Greece in the best period, and compared with which the naïve beliefs concerning the gods, such as we find in the poetry of Homer, were completely in the background.

Now comes the question. How was it possible for an artist to render in an intelligible manner the whole character of a goddess, whose worship had thus assumed an ethical and religious form markedly in contrast with her previous worship, as the personification of a process of nature? In the case of statues intended for worship, and still more in the case of individual types of deities, an artist could not seize on a particular incident, and, by introducing a representation of it, make his embodiment of the character of the deity more apparent. At most, he could only employ an attribute or an ornament of some kind to assist in carrying out his idea. Were it otherwise an artist might conceive Zeus, as an old rhetorician suggests, surrounded by the heavens, seasons, and stars. But such a conception would be too wide and vague. The artist must seize upon a simple and coherent idea; and in the case of Zeus he does so by presenting him to us as a king and father. As a king is the head and father of his people, so Zeus is the head and father of gods and

men, in his person being united the power and authority of a ruler with the overseeing kindliness of a father. Compare with him Pluto Serapis, a god who holds also the office of a ruler, but a ruler who administers his province according to implacable laws and stern necessity, who knows no clemency, has no power to save, and must always refuse aid. Or again, compare Hera, the queen and wife of Zeus, who shared the majesty of his office, and by the jealousy with which she maintained her rights, at the expense of domestic scenes in Olympus, lost almost entirely the character of a mother which is conveyed by her original signification. In the case of Demeter we have the opposite result, her character as wife having quite disappeared. A wife she no doubt was, and stood, it appears, in much the same relation to Zeus as did Hera. Zeus was the father of Persephone, which means that the fertility within the earth is called forth by the influence of the heavens upon the seasons. But this relationship was put wholly into the shade by the more immediate relationship of the maternal earth to the fruit springing from it, that is, the relationship of mother to daughter. The character of mother pervades the whole mythology of Demeter; the mother who, without a husband, lived only for her child, who had to lose her child and to be filled with anxiety for her; to have her anxiety lessened, but never silenced or removed, by occasional visits from her daughter. Accordingly, it would seem impossible to conceive rightly a figure of Demeter without expressing in it clearly and distinctly the character of a mother. That this has been done with most happy success by

the artist of the head now under consideration will be plain from even a superficial examination of it. It is the head of one whose youth is passed, but on whom age has not yet begun to tell. There is no ornament; for such her veil cannot be called. I would rather look on it as her widow's veil. In the lines of her countenance are an inexpressible softness and loving tenderness, combined with the expression of a sorrow which has become chastened with time, but still bespeaks an anxious sadness. The general character of the face is thus obvious enough. The great difficulty is to account to ourselves for the various steps by which the artist has led us to receive our impression of it so readily; the more so because the softness and gentleness of the countenance is conveyed by such quiet peaceful forms and lines. I think it may assist us if we leave this head for a moment and examine attentively another head, in which the same emotions are rendered, but in a higher degree of strain and agitation, and, therefore, more intelligibly at first sight.

The head I refer to is that of a fragmentary statue in the Vatican (Visconti, Mus. Pio Clem. i. pl. 34) representing a triton, one of those beings of compound form with which Greek artists peopled the sea, as they peopled the woods and meadows with centaurs, satyrs, and nymphs. The tritons not only lived in the sea, but were personifications of that element. They were embodiments of the spirit which appeared to actuate the movements of the sea, or, as we should rather say, personifications of the thoughts or images awakened in men's minds on contemplating the changeful movements of the sea.

The ocean lies in the sunlight spread out into a broad lustrous surface; a soft air comes touching and ruffling it slightly; a wind rises, blows stronger and stronger, waves lift their heads, a storm breaks loose, and the furious element dashes on the coast as if impatient to destroy its bounds; even in the lull after a storm the sea is not in perfect repose; and hence, when poetry or art is called upon to personify it as an element, it is the character of facile excitability which comes uppermost, and accordingly in all the mythical beings of the sea we find this restlessness and unappeased desire for some new excitement strongly pronounced. Even old Okeanos (Visconti, Mus. Pio Clem. vi. pl. 5), though age has soothed his passions and led him to prefer the peaceful sunshine, has still a slight yearning in his aspect. The young triton, on the other hand, as seen in the Vatican statue, burns with a fierce passion for some object which his whole form is strained to reach by force and fury; and when he has gained it, his desire will only be stilled for a moment. It is this expression of unsilenced yearning after something which we find also in the head of Demeter. The passion of the triton was, of course, more tumultuous, and required to be rendered with more powerful lines than were necessary in the case of the goddess.

The eye is the seat of expression—the mirror of the soul; and so it happens that when deep or sustained emotion is felt, the adipose tissue in which the eye is embedded is observed to diminish in volume, particularly under the outer corner of the eye, so as to give it a sunken appearance. When

the mind is troubled with anxiety, the eye turns away from objects near it, upwards or forwards into distance. The object of the longing being more to us than what we possess, but not beyond hope, keeps the gaze, as it were, between heaven and earth. To render a look of this kind in sculpture is only possible by inclining the eye in its vertical axis, not forward, as in the case of Zeus with his look of protection, but a little backwards, and by turning the pupils of both eyes towards each other, so that their gaze may converge on some object not too close at hand. In such a movement the parts immediately round the eyes are, of course, directly involved and drawn into sympathy. When the eyelids open, the brows also are raised by a contraction of muscle, which assumes an intensity proportionate to the agitation or emotion by which it is guided. In this way the eye gains in depth, while, at the same time, its direction is the more clearly defined by the sharp markings of the muscles of the brows; and so much is this the case in the head of the triton that there is not, perhaps, another head in existence in which the emotions of the mind are expressed in so strongly-defined forms. Again, mental emotion is reflected in the mouth, through which the breath that sustains physical existence passes in and out. An anxious longing, such as we have described, produces a sense of weariness, through which the lips open more frequently than usual, the mouth becomes smaller, the upper lip more pointed and raised, while the corners hang down painfully. One almost fancies one hears a soft low sigh escape. The chin is necessarily raised and the whole head thrown back a little, with a gentle

inclination sidewards, straining the muscles of the throat.

As regards the other features of the triton I will only remark generally, that while his dishevelled hair heavy with water is suggestive of the element in which he lives, his ears, being those of a satyr, are evidence of the animal part of his nature. From this it follows that his passion could not be entirely of an intellectual or ideal order, but must be sensual in a preponderating degree. We must, therefore, dismiss the treatment of the hair and ears before we compare his head with that of Demeter, in whom the opposite passion found its highest expression. When, after looking at the triton for awhile, we turn to Demeter it is difficult to recognise anything in her face except a soft peaceful harmony, and it takes some moments to recover the impression of saddened consciousness which it gave us at first.

We proceed now to examine her features in detail, beginning, as in the case of the triton, with the region of the eyes. Here, too, the eye is sunk in the socket, as if physically weary. But anxiety of mind fights against the weariness, and will not yet surrender to it. The look is not sunk, but is directed upwards, only a little less sharply than in the other head, and less in a fixed direction; so that the convergence of the lines of vision takes place in a somewhat nearer point. Naturally, the strain on the muscles of the brow is less. The skin of the brow is drawn up at both sides, and forms a slight swelling, such as would ensue after long weeping. In the mouth also we observe the same expression, but in greater moderation, the lips being slightly opened,

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DEMETER OF KNIDUS.

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drawn forward and raised, and sinking softly and sadly at the corners. The chin is a little raised, and the head reclines on the neck, which is bent slightly.

As a last, but by no means least, proof that the expression of both heads is the same in kind if different in degree, we must notice the general proportions of the features of both. Take a triangle, with its base formed by the breadth across the eyes and its apex by the chin. In both cases it will be found that the base is small compared with the height. The outer corners of the eyes retreat very much, while the middle of the brow projects, so that the front of the face appears small; and, moreover, all its lines strain forward, as if following the direction of the eyes. By this means the expression of anxiety is heightened.

But here the similarity between the two heads ceases; and for the rest we shall find that the further development of what has been found common to both, takes an entirely opposite direction in each. The strong unsatisfied desire of the young triton has caused a worn and haggard look under the eyes and on the cheeks, while in Demeter, on the contrary, her riper years have brought about a largeness and fulness of those forms which are the physical accompaniment of maternal character. At the same time, these riper years have also told on her mental expression, if not by removing her sorrow and yearning, at least by soothing it and by concentrating into a calm, steady, and lasting feeling, what in younger years would be a momentary excited passion. It is for this reason that the individual

features are less strongly marked, and that the whole bearing is milder and more in repose. Her look, as has been said, is not directed into vague distance. It is bent not on some object indistinct and undefined, but on an object which she had once possessed, which she had loved with her whole heart, an object which had vanished from her sight, and the image alone of which remains in her mind and recollection. Instead of an unsatisfied passion, a peaceful and sad submission reigns in her face. Compared with the wild desire as expressed in the mouth of the triton, which, one might say, seems to snap at its object like a beast of prey, there plays in the soft full form round the corners of the mouth of Demeter a kindly expression, almost approaching to a smile, in which we recognise the nature of her love for the object of her longing.

If, then, the whole character of the goddess has been rendered in those features which we have already examined, it is clear that the function of the other features can only be to make this character more apparent by being in perfect harmony with it. The fundamental idea of the head, once expressed, must be preserved by the strict absence of everything that is not absolutely required to assist in making it more lucid, by the absence of all unnecessary ornament or object attractive in itself. It is precisely in the success with which Greek artists achieved this in rendering ideal figures that their mastery is most apparent. The mother who lives only for her daughter has no thought of herself or of others, she cannot and must not appear attractive by personal adornment. Her hair, simply parted over the brow,

is drawn back, and, after being bound with a plain band, is allowed to fall in free tresses behind the ears, the greater part being concealed by the veil arranged in folds, of which the seeming simplicity has, doubtless, been the result of careful study. In contrast to the small triangle of the face, within which the emotion of the mind is concentrated, there is a soft and full development of the form at the sides, which, together with the large throat and neck as the signs of maternal character provided by nature, gives almost too great a preponderance to the material parts. The hair and the veil serve not only to balance the masses, but also to enclose the head, not so much in the manner of a setting or frame as to force the expression back upon itself and to concentrate it.

Can it be only the result of chance that Christian artists have also represented the Madonna wearing a veil? The centre of the ethical religion of the Greeks was formed, as I have said, by the worship of Demeter and Persephone in the Mysteries of Eleusis. In the centre of the Christian religion also is the figure of a mother who lives only for her child and in her child, who in the same way grieves for the loss of her son, and finds blessedness in the spiritual contemplation of him. Suppose a Christian artist were to give his Madonna the head of our Demeter, he would certainly not be censured for it. Indeed, who knows if modern critics, unaware of the ancient prototype, might not declare that here at last the problem was solved how to combine classic form with the depth of Christian sentiment? Such a criticism would teach us two things: first, that the

power of rendering the deep emotions of the soul was by no means foreign to ancient art; and secondly, that it is the general feeling of humanity in its highest sense, not dogmatism, which asserts itself in all art. Whether Madonna or Demeter, it is her pure womanliness that draws us towards her, or in Goethe's own words (end of Faust):

> "Das ewig Weibliche
> Zieht uns hinan."

Note on Professor Brunn's Memoir on the Demeter of Cnidus.—In Caylus, Recueil d'Antiq. vi. pl. 46, is engraved a veiled female head singularly like in style and type to the Demeter of Cnidus. The bottom of the neck is rounded off so as to admit of insertion into a socket in the trunk of the statue to which this head belonged. Caylus, ibid, p. 159, states that he received this head from M. Pessonel, Consul of Candia, in Crete, and that it had recently been found in Rhodes. He further states that it was in perfect preservation, and in a very fine style. The height he gives 16 inches (old French measure), and speaks of the head as of heroic size, *à peu-près* colossal. It would be interesting to know whether this head still exists in France.

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IV.—ON A SILVER-GILT PATERA, PROCURED BY THE LATE DR. LORD, M.D.

BY GEORGE BIRDWOOD, M.D.

(Read April 22, 1874.)

I HAVE great pleasure in offering to the Royal Society of Literature the following account of a silver-gilt patera [φιάλη] in the possession of the India Office, to which my attention was recently drawn by Professor Childers. When Professor Childers first came upon the patera, we thought in the absence of any official record of it, that a real discovery had been made, and we agreed that its subject was either The Triumph of Dionysos, or some scene from the famous drinking bout between Dionysos and Heracles,—the subject of the Patera of Rennes. On, however, making further inquiry, I was directed by Mr. Thomas to the seventh volume of the 'Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' in which [part ii. p. 1049] the patera is described and figured. It is also mentioned and badly figured in Sir Alexander Burnes's '*Cabool.*' In the paper printed in the Journal it is said that a cast of it was taken at Simla before it was brought down to Calcutta by Dr. McLeod. I send with this paper another cast of it, made by Mr. Ready, of the British Museum, and a photograph of it, taken by Mr. Griggs, of the India Museum.

Sir Alexander Burnes figures, along with this patera, a second silver dish, of Persian work,—

representing Yezdigird I., which is described by Major-General Alexander Cunningham in vol. x. of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' part ii. p. 570; and it is important to note that the scale of inches in Burnes' engraving applies to the patera and not to the Persian dish. Although represented in the engraving of the same size as the patera, the Persian dish is above two inches wider, being 11·2 in diameter. This second dish, it is hoped, is in the possession of the family of the late Sir Alexander Burnes, possibly of his surviving brother, in Scotland. "The patera," General Cunningham says in the note above referred to, "had been an heirloom in the family of the Meers of Badakshân, who claim to be the descendants of Alexander the Great; and it had been sold by them in their distress, when they were conquered and imprisoned by Meer Morad Bey of Kunduz, to Atma Ram his Dewan Beghi." It was, according to Sir Alexander Burnes, from Atma Dewan that Dr. Lord obtained it, and the Persian dish also. Sir Alexander Burnes adds that he "received Dr. Lord's permission very shortly before his death to present the first of the pateræ (the one now under consideration) and some valuable coins to the museum at the India House"—the natural receptacle of the curious and valuable relics of India and High Asia, collected by the servants of the old Honourable East India Company. A comparison of dates shows that the patera did not reach Calcutta, in charge of Dr. McLeod, until after Prinsep had left for England in September, 1838, although he had announced before leaving that it had been found by Dr. Lord, and that he was daily expecting it from the North West Provinces. During

Prinsep's absence Dr. O'Shaughnessy and the Rev. Mr. Malan were appointed joint secretaries to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the notice of the patera in the seventh volume of the Society's Transactions, is, therefore, probably from the pen of one of these gentlemen. Had it been drawn up by Prinsep, we cannot doubt that it would have been both more accurate and more elegant. Possibly, however, it was written from notes left behind him in Calcutta by Prinsep. Dr. Lord was killed in action Nov. 2, 1840. The original description of the patera is as follows:—

"Along with Sir A. Burnes's coins, Dr. McLeod brought to Calcutta a very singular relic obtained by Dr. Lord at Badakshán. The relic in question is an ancient patera of silver, embossed in the interior in very high relief, and representing, with all the usual adjuncts of classic mythology, the procession of Bacchus. The god himself sits in a car drawn by two harnessed females, with a drinking-cup in his hand. A fat infant Silenus stands in front, and there is a female figure kneeling on the after corner of the car, which from its disproportionate size we imagine to be the carved elbow of the seat on which the god reclines. There are also two winged cupids in attendance, one flying with a wand in his hand, to which a fellet is attached, the other end of which is held by the infant Silenus; and the other on the foreground behind the wheel of the car, as if employed in pushing it on. The car is followed by a dancing Hercules, distinguishable by the club and lion's skin. The heads of this figure and of the Bacchus are both wanting, owing probably to their having been of gold, or thought so; while the rest of the patera, being only of silver gilt, has escaped similar violation. The gilding, however, is mostly worn away from long use, and in one part the side of the cup is actually worn through. Independently of the cir-

cumstance of the main figure being represented with a cup in hand, its identity with the Grecian Bacchus is proved by the vines circumpendent, and by the figure of a tiger standing prominently out in the foreground and drinking out of a wine jar."

"This very singular relic being destined to leave the country, we have thought it necessary, besides giving in these pages a plate made from an accurate drawing with a scale, to have a cast prepared from it in tin, so that, in case the original should be lost in transmission to Europe, the facsimile may remain to give a complete idea of its form and execution. The cast is of course not equally sharp in its lines with the chased original, but connoisseurs will know how to make exact allowance for that difference."

"This patera is the property of Dr. Lord, who is also the fortunate owner of the double-headed coin of Eucratides, the original apparently from which the plate of a similar coin is given in Dr. Vincent's 'Periplus;' but the double head is there represented as being on both sides of the coin. With a liberality deserving of particular notice, both these unique relics have been gratuitously appropriated by the finder, or are intended to be so, in the manner deemed by him most conducive to the ends of science, Dr. Lord not desiring to retain them as isolated trophies of his own good fortune in the field of research and discovery."

"I fear we must not look upon this piece of plate as affording evidence of the state of the arts in Badakhshán, where it was found, at any particular era. That it is of high antiquity is quite apparent from the condition of the metal, as well as from the design, but in the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,' published amongst Arian's works, it is distinctly stated that *ἀργυρώματα, i.e.*, articles of silver plate, were a staple import from the west, for exchange against the productions of India. At Minnagarh, upon the Indus, it is further stated by the author of that treatise, that he himself presented to the Rája *βαρύτιμα ἀργυρώματα*, valuable pieces of plate, in order to secure his favour and the grant of certain privileges of trade. There is thus reason to believe

that the patera must have been brought from Greece or Asia Minor, and either presented in like manner, or sold to some sovereign of Bactria, by a merchant desiring similar privileges of trade in that country. That it has been in use for centuries is evident from the worn condition it now presents; but for how many it was in use, and for how many it lay treasured in royal or other repositories, is more than may now be conjectured."

There is really little more to be said about it, and one may not rush in with conjectures where, possibly, Prinsep feared to tread. But on the face of it, from the thickness of the silver, especially in the raised figures, its debased style and slovenly workmanship, it belongs to an age when art was fast sinking in the pollution of superabounding wealth and luxury. The composition of the subject is good, as is also the modelling and composition of the panther and crater in the exergue, notwithstanding their somewhat slurred execution. It is perhaps the best modelled panther to be found among all the remains of ancient art; and the feline avidity and truth to nature with which the beast presses its head into the wine jar, are truly admirable. The general feebleness and carelessness of the design and its execution cannot however be mistaken, and stamp the patera, as a degraded copy from some happier work of a period before ancient art had fallen from the service of the Gods to be prostituted to the ostentation of the vulgar rich—the upstart speculators and contractors of the Roman peace.

"To her loved Greeks the muse indulgent gave,
To her loved Greeks, with greatness to conceive,
* * * * *
Her Greeks were only covetous of praise.

> Our youths, proficients in a nobler art,
> Divide a farthing to the hundredth part:
> 'Well done, my boy!' the joyful father cries;
> 'Addition and Subtraction make us wise.'"
>
> *Francis' 'Horace.'*

It is, I believe it will be agreed, in the Greco-Roman style. The treatment of the figures, and more particularly of the drapery, recalls the later Roman and Byzantine ivories; and it is not unlikely that the patera is of Eastern workmanship of colonists from Rome of about the latter part of the fourth century. I would suggest that the figure of a female on which Dionysos is leaning is not, as suggested by the writer in the Bengal journal, a part of the car on which he reclines, but represents Ariadne, or Methe, the cup-bearer of Dionysos,—some woman "warm and real" at least, and not a coachmaker's carved "ideal." The dancing Heracles who follows is not to be mistaken; and the women going before,—their garments [χιτών, σχιστὸς] fluttering in the air,—I may as well note, are drawing the car by means of straps over their shoulders: and beyond the rim of the patera we may imagine the shouting procession of the Mænads and the Bassarids,—

> "And 'Bacchus! Bacchus!' is the word."
>
> *Conington's 'Virgil.'*

The panther and the crater below are among the usual attributes of Dionysos, and for this reason—for otherwise the attempt would be vain—I am able to identify the plants which flank them with the pomegranate. But it could never have been guessed that the conventional fruit along the upper verge of the patera, to the right, are meant for clusters of

grapes, did these not overhang the Wine God: the more so, that in most works of antiquity where the grape is represented, we find also that the classic leaf of the vine is not omitted. They may, after all, be meant for the ivy, a plant, next to the vine, the most frequently associated with the worship of Dionysos. Had the patera been a modern work, this climbing plant might have been taken for the hop, itself no bad symbol of a Bacchic subject. The winged figure pushing the chariot-wheel is an Eros; and of the two other Erotes, the one standing on the fore part of the chariot holding out a wine jug [ἐπιχύσις], may possibly be Priapos, and the flying one above, with the whip in hand, as coachman, Comos. Both are very Roman in treatment, and are admirably distributed; and, giving fuller rein to imagination, we may conjecture this patera to have been taken among the spoil when Antioch fell to the Persians, A.D. 540, or when Julian was slain in Persia, A.D. 363. The weight of the patera, ascertained for me by my friends Messrs. Phillips Brothers and Son, Cockspur Street, is 29 oz. 5 dwt. troy, its diameter 9 inches, its depth $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and its thickness from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{16}$ and $\frac{1}{20}$ of an inch. General Cunningham gives the diameter of the Persian dish as 11·2 inches, and its weight 312 drachms. The figures are encrusted on the patera by being wedged, hammered [σφυρήλατα], and soldered into undercut groovings, and its entire upper surface has been heavily gilded. On the under surface are the traces of three inscriptions; one which has been chiselled away, one in uncertain characters, Pehlevi or Arabic, dotted in with a punch, and the third, which Mr. Thomas conjectures to be Monghol,

looks as if it had been written in ink. It was Mr. Thomas who saved this dish on a memorable occasion from the melting pot.

There is no reason to suppose that this patera is in any way connected with the legend of the elder or Indian Bacchus. Nothing is more clear from the inextricable mass of legends of the God than that his life was spent in perpetual wanderings, the rapt Wanderer being everywhere and ever accompanied by all the revelling host of Fauns and Satyrs, the fair Mænads and Thyiads, great Pan, the Sileni, and the rest of the Bacchanalian rout. We may conceive one of these Orgiastic processions to be the subject of the scene here pourtrayed. There is no Silenos here. The God has lost his head literally indeed, but, beyond doubt, the type of Dionysos which the artist [τορευτής] has selected is that of a youth of great beauty of form. As the head is gone, it is impossible to say whether the hair was fastened back over his forehead with the customary diadem [μίτρα]. Neither is the fawn skin [νεβρίς] worn over the shoulder of Dionysos here, nor the thyrsus [θύρσος], the ivy and vine wreathed rod, with a pine cone or bunch of ivy or vine leaves at the top, which is often placed in his hand, or is seen waved wildly aloft in the tumultuous dance of his frenzied votaries. Pausanias[1] (v. 19, 1) describes a nearly similar scene on the ark of Cypselus—the Wine God reclining, with the chiton reaching nearly to his feet [ποδήρης], and holding a golden goblet in his outstretched hand. The worship of Dionysos was essentially a Nature worship. Nature overpowering the mind, of which wine is the poetical symbol, lies at

[1] I owe this reference to Mr. Vaux.

the root of all the Dionysiac creations. The wine cup in the right hand of the God in the patera is certainly a bowl [patina, λεκανη], but more often it is the drinking horn [καρκήσιον], or the sacred goblet [κάνθαρος]. On coins, Dionysos appears under numerous types, sometimes drawn by lions or panthers, or riding on one of them, or leaning on Ampelos, as in a terra-cotta in the British Museum. On gems, he is generally reclining in divine serenity, with a Satyr attending him, and his cup-bearer Methe. Heracles is not very often associated with Dionysos, but he may be seen in a strolling Bacchic company [θιάσος] on some of the vases from Vulci, on others seated with Dionysos and Ariadne at a banquet. On one of the marbles at Woburn he is seated in the chariot [ἅμαξα] with Dionysos.

I cannot hold with the writer in the Asiatic journal, that this patera ever found its way into Badakshán in the course of the ancient commerce of India with the west. We have, indeed, abundant notices in the 'Periplus' that "plate" and "plate of very great value" [ἀργυρώματα, βαρύτιμα ἀργυρώματα], "silver services" [ἀργυρᾶ σκέυη], "embossed and chased silver" [ἀργυρώματα τετορευμένα], "silver coins" [δηνάριον], "specie" and "great quantities of specie" [χρῆμα, χρήματα πλειστα], "metal images" [ἀνδριάντες], like to the brazen idols exported in the present day from England to Africa and India "gold coin" and "goldplate" [χρυσοῦν, χρυσώματα], "vessels of brass" [χαλκουργήματα], "imitation jewellery" [μελίεφθα χαλκὰ, —literally, "seasoned with honey,"—if this means "cooking-pots of copper tinned," it is noteworthy that tinned, "Kalliea," copper pots are used for cooking

throughout India], were exported by the merchants of the ancient world from the countries of the Mediterranean basin to the ports of India and the East. But these table and household utensils were not the works of Greek artists, but ordinary manufactures; and no one in his senses can imagine that such a patera as the one now described was an article of ordinary commerce with India. Such artistic works must always have been comparatively scarce and of high price, and were made only for special occasions, as gifts between men of rank and wealth, or, more frequently, to be laid up as offerings in the temples of the gods, and at famous shrines. Many who have recently seen this patera have thought they can trace a nimbus or glory surrounding the head of the first of the two Bacchantes represented as dragging the car of Dionysos, but this appearance seems to be due only to the careless and feeble manner in which the fluttering of the scarf [ἀμπεχόνιον] * has been represented.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD, M.D.

* *Note* 1. See figure, p. 426, Becker's '*Charicles*,' and figs. 92, 93, 132, and 210 '*Diana*', Hope's '*Costume of Ancients*.'

It is difficult to determine what the exact name the Greeks gave to the thing which we call a scarf, and of which so many excellent representations have come down to us among the remains of ancient art. Ἀμπεχόνιον, the diminutive of ἀμπεχόνη, should rather mean a little shawl than a scarf. The κρήδεμνον was certainly not a scarf, although often so rendered, as where Ino in the Odyssey v. 346, bids Ulysses—

> "This heavenly *scarf* beneath thy bosom find
> And live."

Elsewhere Pope has translated the word by veil, as where Homer describes the grief of Andromache for Hector, Il. xxii. 469—

> "The *veil* and diadem [πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην] threw away,
> (The gift of Venus [χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη] on her wedding day.")

And the toilet of Juno, Il. xiv. 184—

> "Then o'er her head she casts a *veil* more white
> Than new fallen snow, and dazzling as the light."

And Penelope, Id. i. 334—

> "A *veil* of richest texture wrought she wears."

And the handmaids of Nausicaa, Od. vi. 100—

> "O'er the green meads the sporting virgins play,
> Their shining *veils* unbound."

But the κρήδεμνον would seem to have really been some such head-band as is worn by the Parsee women of Bombay, and analogous to the *Asbeh* of the women of Egypt. Where Homer describes the grief of Hecuba for Hector, Il. xxii. 406—

> "She rent her tresses venerably grey,
> And cast far off the regal *veils* away,"

and the toilet of Calypso, Od. v. 232—

> "The nymph's fair head a *veil* transparent graced,
> Her swelling loins a radiant zone embraced,"

and, in the very same words, of Circe, Od. x. 545—

> "A *tiar wreathed her head with many a fold*,
> Her waist was circled with a zone of gold,"

the poet uses the word καλύπτρη [καλυπτρα], where Pope has used *veil* and *tiar*: and the καλύπτρα was really a veil and not a scarf; the head veil, or "*tarah*," of Egyptian women, and which may be compared with the head-fold of the "*sarees*" of Hindoo women, and particularly with the head-fold of the silken "*sarres*" of the Parsee women of Bombay; a veil of an amplitude becoming the

natural modesty of women. The *κάλυμμα*, which is only another word for [*καλύπτρά*], was an undoubted "*saree*," or robe-like veil. Thus Thetis, Il. xxiv. 93–94—

> "—— *veiled her head in sable shade,*
> *Which flowing long her graceful person clad.*"

That is, robed herself, wrapped herself up in the sable veil [*κάλυμμα κυανεον*] which was worn by Greek women when in mourning. Indeed, the women of Upper Egypt to this day wear the identical *χιτων*, and perhaps the identical *κρήδεμνον* and *καλύπτρα* worn by the women of ancient Greece. The Greek scarf was exactly the same as our scarf, as is clear from the illustrations given in Micali, Becker, Hope, and Smith, etc., although the name by which they called it would seem to be wrapped in obscurity still.

V.—VERONESE TYPOGRAPHY, XVTH–XIXTH CENTURY; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PRIVATE PRESS OF THE GIULIARI FAMILY.

BY C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

(Read May 27, 1874.)

AMONG the many interesting cities of North Italy, which incline the traveller to halt at every step of his journey through the fertile plain of Lombardy, Verona—the city of Catullus and of her Capulets and Montagues, where Dante found a resting-place in his weary life of exile, and perhaps took heart for the future of Italy through the hopes that he thought he might found on her lord, Can Grande della Scala—is surely not the least interesting. I hope on a future occasion to touch upon the Palæographical treasures of the Chapter Library of Verona. This evening I propose drawing your attention to that portion of Veronese literary history which is subsequent to the invention of printing. Possibly, my present subject may have attracted less attention in this country. In any case, I shall hope to afford you some little insight into the culture and the intellectual activity that have kept alive the flame of learning under the shadow of the tombs of the Scaligers. Following chiefly the guidance of my friend the learned Librarian of the Chapter Library, Monsignor Giambattista Carlo, Conte Giuliari, in his 'Literary and Historical Sketch

of Veronese Typography,'[1] I shall mention in detail the whole of the works known to have issued from the Verona Press down to the year 1500, after which period it will only be possible to mention the principal works. Of the later issues, the most remarkable are the productions of the Private Press, established in Verona in 1795 by Count Bartolomeo Giuliari, grandfather of the present Chapter Librarian. Of that Press I hope to have it in my power to exhibit one of the most splendid specimens,[2] containing plates illustrating the designs for the Cappella Pellegrini in the church of St. Bernardine, one of the greatest works of Michele Sammicheli, the architect of the Porta Nuova at Verona, and of the Lido Fort at Venice—a copy which I believe to be unique in this country. At the threshold of our present investigation we are met with an Italian claimant to the honour of the invention of printing, in the person of Panfilo Castaldi, of Feltre, in the Udinese. All that can be advanced in his favour is duly set forth by Monsignor Giuliari, who, however, does not allow his patriotism to run away with his critical faculty, and with whom, I think, we may safely agree that there is no adequate evidence as yet published to prove Castaldi's title. The subject has been fully treated by several Italian writers, who endeavour to urge their fellow-countryman's claim, and those who desire to see all that can be said on the subject may

[1] Published at Verona, Tip. Antonio Merlo, 1871, and characteristically dedicated by the author to his native city.

[2] This hope remains yet to be fulfilled, as I was unable to track the copy of the 'Cappella Pellegrini' alluded to in the text in time for the meeting at which this paper was read, but I still trust in its future fulfilment.

be referred to the recent works of Bernardi,[3] Zanghellini,[4] and Praloran, as well as to the earlier notice by Federici, who appears to have been the first to bring forward the claims of Italy in the person of Castaldi. I am not aware that anything has been discovered to throw fresh light on the question since the publication of Giuliari's book in 1871, where the whole controversy is summarised. That Faust resided for some time in Feltre, in the house of Panfilo Castaldi, for the purpose of learning the Italian language, may be, if proven, just as much in favour of the hypothesis that the Italian learned the art from the German, as the reverse.

Rejecting as a date appended by the translator, Sommariva, the 'Batracomiomachia,' which bears the imprint of Verona, 1470, Giuliari opens his list of authentic Veronese productions with

I. *Robertus Valturius,*[5] *De Re Militari.*
Verona, MCCCCLXII. Fol.

The colophon, given at length by Giuliari, asserts the fact of its being the first fruits of Veronese Typography, in the following terms: "Johannes ex Verona oriundas: Nicolai cyrurgia e medici filius: artis impres-

[3] Bernardi, Abate Cav. Jacopo, Panfilo Castaldi da Feltre, Milan, 1865.

[4] Zanghellini, Abate Prof. Antonio, Dissertation in the 'Programma del Ginnasio Liceale del Seminario Vescovile,' Feltre, 1865. (Both the above are stated by Giuliari to have been republished, with additions, at Milan, 1866).

[5] In the present paper, for the information of those who may like to know what specimens remain of early Veronese Typography in the city where they first saw the light, I follow Monsignor Giuliari's plan of marking with an asterisk all books not in the Communal Library at Verona.

soriae magister: hunc de re militari librum elegantissimum: litteris et figuratis signis sua in patria primus impressit: An. MCCCCLXXII." The peculiarity of "primus" for "primum" Giuliari thinks need not create any difficulty; the burden of proof lies, he considers, with those who impugn the claims of Maestro Giovanni, whose work is so beautiful that the Chapter Librarian enthusiastically exclaims, "The art of printing sprang into life at Verona, a giant from its birth." This book is also remarkable for the number and beauty of the woodcuts with which it is illustrated, of which Giuliari enumerates forty full-page and fourty-four smaller engravings, a singularly large number to be lavished upon one work in the infancy of the art. Moreover, it refutes the assertion of Baldinucci, in his life of Albert Durer, that Durer first invented woodcuts in the pontificate of Innocent VIII., who was elected in 1484. Maffei, and after him Lanzi and Cicognara, attributes these woodcuts in the Verona 'Valturius' of 1472 to Matteo Pasti, a Veronese, well known for his works both as a sculptor, printer, engraver, and medallist, with that versatility of genius which was so characteristic of the artists of the Classical Renaissance in Italy. Maestro Giovanni, the printer of 'Valturius,' is not only the father of Veronese Typography, but also one of the patriarchs of the Italian Press. His predecessors, as recorded by Giuliari, all belong to the year 1471.

Clement, a priest of Padua, must be acknowledged as the first, according to the statement in the preface to his book the 'Mesue,' Venice, 1471, where the writer, Nic. Gupalatino, says of him, "Italorum primus,

qui libros hac arte formavit." He is closely followed by Simon Nic. de Luca, in partnership with Ulderico Han, in Rome; by Antonio Zaroto, of Parma, who published a 'Festus,' and 'Pomponius Mela' in Milan; by Bernardo Cennini, with a Commentary of Servius, in Florence; and Baldassar Azzoguidi, with Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' in Bologna, all in the same year, 1471. "But none of these productions of the early Italian press can compare," proudly observes Monsignor Giuliari, "with the 'Valturius' of Maestro Giovanni, of Verona, in 1472."

The next work I have to bring to your notice is one claimed for the Verona press under the following circumstances. It is one of the first three printed texts of the 'Divina Commedia,' published in Italy, and Cavalier Filippo Scolari in a critical letter ('Lettera Critica') addressed to Count Giuliari, published in Venice in 1865, advances the theory that it is the 'Editio Princeps.' Its title is

> "*II. Liber Dantis—Impressus . a . Magistro . Federico. Veronensi . M.CCCC.LXXII. Quinto. Decimo. Alendas (sic). Augusti. 4°."

No indication being given as to the place of publication, the argument turns upon the description of "Magister Federicus" as a Veronese. In other works the same printer describes himself more fully as "Phedericus de Comitibus de Verona," *i.e.*, Federico de' Conti. The doubt as to his Dante of 1472 having been printed in Verona arises from the fact that Maestro Federico is known to have set up a press in Jesi, where some works were published bearing his name in 1473 and 1475. But in these cases the

place of printing is specified. Why should it have been omitted in 1472? If he was in Verona, his description of himself as "Veronensis" might seem enough; if he was already at Jesi, it is not easy to see why he should have failed to record his migration.[6] This edition of the 'Commedia' is so rare that it is sadly noted by Giuliari to have been conspicuous by its absence at the Dante Exhibition in Florence in 1865. There were formerly two copies in Verona, one belonging to the learned Canon Gian Giacopo Dionisi, and bequeathed by him to the Chapter Library, but which unfortunately was lost in the removal from the canon's house; and another in the library of the Conventual Fathers of S. Fermo Maggiore, of which Giuliari says that he does not know where it is now. But one copy, at any rate, still remains in Italy, which was seen by Giuliari in 1866 in the library of Count Gentile Colleoni, of Vicenza, who guards it with jealous care. It is a perfect copy, with wide margins, and initial letters in gold at the commencement of each cantica, and other illuminations. "The type," says Giuliari, "is different from that of the 'Valturius' of Verona, already described, but the paper is of much the same thickness. In the 'Valturius' the only water-mark is a goose, but in the Dante there are at least four different ones. 1. A small column, surmounted by a crown; 2. A cross-bow; 3. A pair of scales; 4. A single-headed eagle, crowned, and with its beak open."

It would be interesting to know what are the

[6] Panizzi, and the majority of bibliographers, as Giuliari admits, consider Maestro Federico's Dante as having been published in Jesi, but only, he says, because it is known that he printed there in 1473–5.

water-marks borne by Maestro Federico's works dated at Jesi, but unfortunately Monsignor Giuliari has not seen any of them. The Colleoni record may be of service some day. After the death of Maestro Giovanni, the printer of 'Valturius,' and the migration of Maestro Federico to Jesi, there is a hiatus in Veronese Typography till 1476, when another of the great Italian poets occupies the field with the following work:—

"III. Il libro degli Huomini famosi compillato per lo Inclito Poeta Miser Francisco Petrarca. Rure Polliano Verona. MCCCCLXXVI. Kl. Octobris. Fol."

It was printed in Pojano, a village four miles from Verona, and bears record that it was published at the instance (*i.e.*, no doubt, as Giuliari observes, at the expense) of Misser Francisco da Carrara, Lord of Padua. The printers are stated in the colophon to have been Felix Antiquarius, or Felice Feliciano, of Verona, and his partner, Innocens Ziletus, or Innocente Zileto, of Orcinovi. The designation here appended to the name of Felix was probably derived from his antiquarian researches, which are preserved in a collection of Roman inscriptions[7] existing in MS. in the Chapter Library at Verona. He appears as a printer in this work alone. It is to be found in the Communal Library. The next is dubious.

"*IV. Trattato a la creatura molto utile, et anci necessario ec.
In Verona, 1477. Quarto."

7 'Raccolta di Romane Iscrizioni,' dedicated to Andrea Mantegna.

It is a spiritual work, by the Cardinal Domenico Capranica, Bishop of Fermo, described as above by Panzer, Hain, and Denis, but Giuliari thinks by mistake for the Venetian edition, of 1478. A copy of the supposed Veronese edition, which Giuliari was told existed in the Puccialti Library at Lucca, he could not find there, owing, perhaps, to the dispersal of part of the collection.

Another uncertain one follows.

"*V. Accii Zucchi Summacampaneæ Veronensis, in Æsopi fabulas interpretatio per rhythmos. Veronae, die XXVI. Junii M.CCCC.LXXVIII. Quarto."

It has sixty-six woodcuts, and the printers named in the colophon are Giovanni Alvise and his companions. Carli[8] identifies this Giovanni with the printer of the 'Valturius,' which Giuliari thinks unlikely, both on account of the lapse of time unaccounted for, and the difference of type.

"*VI. Asconii Pediani Commentarium in Ciceronis orationes.
Veronae, M.CCCC.LXXX. Fol."

Quoted by Panzer on the strength of Maittaire, but considered dubious by Giuliari. Two other editions are in the Biblioteca Quiriniana at Brescia; one printed at Venice, 1477, the other assigned to Padua, with the varying dates of 1490 (Panzer), and 1493 (Fabricius).

"VII. Josephi, Flavii, Machaciae filii, De Bello

[8] 'Storia di Verona,' Tom. VI. c. 411. (On the strength of the Novelle Letterature of Valvasense, Tom. XI. c. 60).

Judaico Libri VII: et de Antiquit. Jud.
Veronae per Mag. Petrum Maufer Gallicum.
An. Sal. M.CCCC.LXXX. Octavo Kal. Januarii. Fol."

Pierre Maufer deserves notice as the first foreign printer met with in Veronese Typography. It appears, by some verses added to a 'carmen' in praise of the book,[9] that the types he used were lent him by Innocente Zileto, the printer of 'Petrarch.'

"*VIII. Alexander de Villa Dei, Grammatica metrice scripta.
Veronae per Boninum de Boniniis de Ragusia.
An. Sal. nostrae M.CCCC.LXXXI. die XVII. februarii. 4°."

This Verona edition, formerly unknown to bibliographers, Giuliari describes from the information of Doctor Giuseppe Clerico, Sub-Librarian of the Royal University at Turin, where there is a handsome copy in Roman type.

"IX. Blondi Flavii, Roma instaurata.
Veronae per Boninum de Boniniis de Ragusia.
An. Sal. M.CCCC.LXXXI, in vigilia Sci Thomae Apostoli. Fol."

Bonini appears to have been one of the wandering printers who went from town to town throughout Italy, stopping awhile wherever they found work to do. He came from Venice, where he had been in partnership with Andrea dei Paltasischi, and from Verona he passed on to Brescia. He generally used gothic type, much coarser, says Giuliari, than the Roman,

[9] A vellum copy is stated to be in the Crevenna Library.

and his pages are usually narrow, with scanty margins, full of notes.

"X. Blondi Flavii, Italia instaurata.
Veronae, Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo secundo. die septimo Febr. Fol."

No printer is named, but the type is the same as that of Bonini, and this work is often found bound up with the previous one.

"*XI. Rob. Valturii, De re Militari.
Veronae per Boninum de Boniniis, A.D. M.CCCC.LXXXIII. XIII. Febr. Fol."

Bonini has here used a good round Roman character, though his reprint is inferior to the 'Editio Princeps' of Maestro Giovanni. This edition contains an epitaph in verse on Roberto Malatesta, by Dante Alighieri III. It has been erroneously cited as printed at Bologna.

"XII. Rob. Valturio, De' facti e precepti militari.
In Verona. per Bonin de Boninis correndo l'anno del mille quatrocento LXXXIII. adi XVII. de Februario. Fol."

Same type and form as XI. Colophon, 'Paulus Ramusius Ariminensis, dum Veronae pubblico jure reddendo vacarem, recognovi." 'Valturius' must have been in considerable favour to demand both a Latin and Italian version at the same time.

"XIII. Dati Augustini, Elegantiolae.
Veronae. An. Dni. M.CCCC.LXXXIII. Quarto.
Calendas Sextiles. 4°."

A copy found by Giuliari after considerable search; probably printed by Bonini.

"XIV. Juliarii Comitis Jacobi, Actio Panthea. Veronae, per Antonium Cavalchabovem et Joanne Antonium Novelli. M.CCCC.LXXXXIIII. 4°."

A very rare and elegant book of only twenty-six sheets (carte), which Giuliari first saw in the Imperial Library of Vienna. It had long been vainly sought for by his grandfather, Count Bartolomeo Giuliari, who obtained very late in life a perfect copy, now forming part of the Communal Library at Verona, and which came from the Library of the Counts Belgrado of Udine. The type used inclines to the Gothic, but of a better character than Bonini employed. Of the two printers named, Antonio Cavalcabò was a Veronese, brother of Pellegrino Cavalcabò, a physician of considerable repute in Verona and Venice, and who procured the correction of the 'Mesue,' printed at Venice in 1471 by the priest Clement of Padua. Concerning Gian Antonio Novelli, Giuliari is unable to give any details.

The 'Actio Panthea' is a collection of Latin 'carmi,' recited in public Academic Session by the disciples of Giovanni Panteo in honour of their master. It contains verses by Dante Alighieri III., Agostino Capello, Jacopo, Count Giuliari, Girolamo Broianico, and Virgilio Zavarise. They are inserted in a historico-allegorical exposition by the editor of the book, Jacopo Giuliari, together with an elegant Latin letter addressed to the Venetian Patrician, Antonio Venier. The most interesting of these

Carmi for Veronese literary history is that by Zavarise, which describes forty of the most eminent men of whom Verona could boast in those days. The Academy itself, for which they were composed, deserves note as the first of Italian academies; and it is a striking picture which rises before our eyes when we call up Dante Alighieri III., the great-grandson of the author of the 'Divina Commedia,' reciting his 'carmi' beneath the shadow of his ancestor's statue in the Piazza de' Signori, in the city of Can Grande, with the flower of the Veronese youth around him.

"*XV. T. Lucretii Cari, De rerum natura. Veronae Paulus Friedenperger M.CCCC.LXXXVI. die vigesimo octavo Septembris. Calen. Octobris. Fol."

Friedenperger came from Passau. This edition of 'Lucretius' has been described by some bibliographers as the 'Editio Princeps,' but Giuliari assigns that position to the Brescia edition by Tommaso Ferrando.

"XVI. Guarini Grammaticales regulae. Veronae Paulus Fridenperger M.CCCC.LXXXVII. quinto kalendas Novembris. 4°."

Guarini's Grammar enjoyed so great a reputation that it was reprinted no less than twenty-four times in various Italian cities during the Fifteenth Century. The first edition was by Jenson in Venice, 1470.

From 1487 to 1500 no printer's name is given in any of the productions of the Veronese press, and there is no evidence to show whether this singular fact may be attributed to Friedenperger continuing to ply his craft there.

"*XVII. Augurelli Jo. Aurelii, Carminum Liber Primus.
Veronae An. domini M.CCCC.LXXXXI. die quinto Julii. 4°."

Well and clearly printed in a round Roman type, but cannot be ascribed with certainty to any printer. It is the author's first Latin work. A copy of this rare edition is in the Campostrini Library.

"XVIII. Quintus Curtius, De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni Reg. Maced.
Veronae an. D. M.CCCC.LXXXXI. die XVIII. Augusti. Fol."

Good round Roman type, and wide margins to the pages.

"*XIX. Alfragani Arabis Astrologi, Introductio Astronomica.
Veronae an. Dni. MCDXCIII. 4°."

Recorded by Giuliari on the faith of some bibliographers, but doubtfully. He thinks that Venturi when citing it as n. 6314 in the Pinelli collection confused it with a Ferrarese publication of the same year called 'Compilatio Astronomica,' which is carefully described by the Canon Giuseppe Antonelli in his 'Edizioni Ferraresi del sec. XV., Ferrara, 1830.'

"*XX. Bartutii Bernardini, Epistola ad Joannem Nesium.
Veronae. Idibus Maii MCCCCLXXXXVIIII. 4°."

This book, which is devoted entirely to the praises of Verona, is, singularly enough, not in the Communal

Library.[10] Bartuzio was a Florentine Franciscan, and wrote this letter after becoming attached as a preacher to S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona.

A few Veronese works which must be assigned to the Fifteenth Century, but bear either no date of place, or else no year, remain to be noticed.

"*XXI. Romanelli Jo. Ant., Rhythmorum vulgarium etc.
In Verona per Zuánne Alvise, e Alberto Fratelli. 4°."

A very rare work, in round Roman type, like that used by the same printers for 'Accius Zucchus.'

Giuliari would ascribe to it the date 1479, and not as Carli, 1472. It consists of twenty-four sonnets, all, except the last, amatory.

"*XXII. Donati Grammatici, Fabularum Ovidii breviatio.
Per Petrum Maufer Normannum, Rothomagensem civem. 4°."

There is a copy in the Quirinian Library, Brescia. Giuliari thinks the book was printed in 1480, when Maufer first established himself in Verona. It has by some been assigned to Padua, and by others to Venice.

"XXIII. Petrus Donatus Advogarius Senatui, Populoque Veronensi. s.u.n. 4°."

A very rare tract in six sheets (carte). From the internal evidence of Veronese matters mentioned in

[10] There was a copy, says Giuliari, in the Magliabecchian (now National) Library at Florence. This preterite has an ominous sound, though it is not stated that the book has disappeared.

it, such as the praise of the institution of pawnbrokers' shops (Monti di Pietà), and of the Venetian Rectors Marin Leonò, and Nicolò Trivisano, Giuliari would assign it to the year 1490. It has been claimed for Venice, on account of similarity to the type used there by Bernardino Veneto, and for Brescia by Count Lechi, in his 'Tipografia Bresciana del sec. xv.,' who, however, never saw the copy which Peroni (Bibl. Bresciana, I. c. 70) asserts bore at the end the date "Brixiae, 1490."

The list of Veronese publications in the fifteenth century is now complete, as far as Giuliari can make it. With patriotic zeal he protests against the inferences that might be drawn adverse to Veronese culture from the comparatively small number (twenty-three at the outside) of these books relatively to the issues of other Italian towns, and balances it by a list of about seventy-five men of eminence in various branches of learning, natives of Verona, who published works between 1472 and 1500. Not a few of these were early recipients of the honours of a second edition, so that with reprints the list of Veronese Fifteenth Century publications mounts up, according to Giuliari's calculation, to about 500 volumes. Before closing this portion of the subject it may be well to recall the fact that one of the early Veronese printers, Maestro Federico de' Conti, who brought out the 'Dante' of 1472, migrated to Jesi. Pietro Cremonese, who printed copies of 'Petrarch' in 1484, 1490, and 1492, as well as the 'Orlando Innamorato,' of Bojardo, in 1486, and a 'Dante' in 1491, describes himself in works printed at Venice as "Pietro Cremonese dicto Veronese," whence Giu-

liari very fairly argues that he may be added to the list, and this view is confirmed by the existence to this day of the family name of Cremonese in Verona. From the sixteenth century downwards I shall imitate Monsignor Giuliari, and pass more rapidly over the ground. Want of means seems to have hindered typographical activity in Verona in the early years of the Cinquecento, but one of its best representatives there, Luca Antonio Fiorentino, deserves a few words of notice. It is suggested by Giuliari, though he confesses he cannot prove his case, that Lucantonio may have been a member of the celebrated Florentine family of printers, the dei Giunti. He printed at first in partnership with Girolamo da Arcole, and Bernardino Misinta, and afterwards alone, in 1503 and 1504. One of his books is remarkable for the singular mode in which the date is given, viz., "Anno D. M. 144 die 23 Marzi," though it had been printed in the ordinary way "MDIIII." on the previous page. His type is what Giuliari calls round Roman (carattere rotondo Latino); the initials are woodcuts, of various dimensions, and well executed; his printer's mark (suggello tipografico) is Fame, represented as a woman flying through the air by means of a sail filled by the wind. The initials L. A. F. are added. In two of the five works printed by Lucantonio, either alone or in partnership, this mark is small, but in two others it occupies almost an entire page.

Apart from some sporadic efforts which do not call for special notice, we must pass on to the year 1529 before we find fresh activity in the Verona press. And this revival, when it comes, is due to the energy

and intellectual activity of Giovanni Matteo Giberti,[11] Bishop of Verona, who entered upon his episcopate in 1528, full of generous feelings, and an eager desire that the Church should benefit by the advance of science, and the progress of civilisation. By the Church, says Monsignor Giuliari, himself a Canon of Giberti's cathedral, the Bishop understood the people as well as their pastors, and he opened the hospitalities of the palace not only to Theologians but to cultivators of every branch of Science, Arts, and Letters. In those halls learned ecclesiastics like Lodovico di Canossa, del Bene, Donato, etc., met such laymen as Fracastoro, Flaminio, della Torre, Bernia. Bishop Giberti invited over to Verona the printers Stefano Nicolini and his brothers from Sabio, whom he established in a press close to the cathedral, and furnished with a fount of beautiful round Roman type, procured at his own expense, as well as with a fount of Greek type. Maffei tells us[12] that the reason of his procuring the Greek type was that finding Greek literature much cultivated in Verona, he was desirous of spreading the benefit of this culture among the public by means of the publication of expensive editions, and that he was obliged to have

[11] Giberti was a prelate of the gentle school of Contarini and Sadolet, and some of his works on questions connected with the 'Reforms' which he considered necessary had a very large circulation in Italy. His 'Constitutiones,' in particular, were constantly reprinted with additions, Giuliari tells us, by successive Bishops of Verona. They were approved by a Bull of Paul III., 25th May, 1542. Giberti also published 'The Canons of the Provincial Council of Cologne in 1536,' in which various reforms were established, and all the parochial clergy of the diocese of Verona were enjoined to procure a copy. A second edition was called for within two years.

[12] 'Verona Illustrata,' pt. ii. c. 312. 4to. ed.

the Greek type specially cast for him, because of its rarity among printers. The first work published under Bishop Giberti's auspices, and by means of his new type, was a Chrysostom, on the interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles, the "Editio Princeps" of the Greek text, dedicated to Pope Clement VII. by Bernardino Donato, the learned Veronese Grecist, who saw it through the press. Giuliari thinks that in beauty it quite rivals the best Aldines, so that the Bishop and people of Verona had good right to be proud of this first essay in Greek typography. The Communal Library contains a copy in which both the dedicatory epistle to the Pope, and another by Donato to the Pope in Greek, are in MS., and Giuliari thinks that they are both autograph letters. The latter is as yet inedited. There are, besides, numerous various readings in MS., both in this copy, and in one that formed part of Monsignor Giuliari's family collection, which he has lately presented to the Communal Library. Of so generous a patron of literature as Bishop Giberti, it is pleasant to be able to record that the Verona press has preserved a memorial of his pastoral character in the shape of a work full of wise words of warning on the duties of the clergy,[13] published by him in anticipation of his first Diocesan Visitation in 1530.

Besides the 'Chrysostom,' Bishop Giberti's press produced an "Editio Princeps" of S. John Damascene, 'De Fide Orthodoxa,' in 1531, and a collection of

[13] "XIII. Breve ricordo di quello che hanno da fare i chierici, massimamente Curati ecc.
In Verona MDXXX. per Maestro Stephano ecc. habita presso il Domo, nel mese di Aprile. 4to."

Exegetical Excerpts from the Commentaries of the Fathers in 1532, from which it may fairly be argued, with Giuliari, that the study of Greek must have been in a very advanced state in Verona in the sixteenth century. "In those days," says Monsignor Giuliari, "only the few studied Greek, but at any rate they were to be found in every town, and their knowledge of the language was thorough. Now-a-days, it is taught in all the public Gymnasia, but hardly one can be found who understands it without Lexicon!"

One undated book, which Giuliari refers to the Giberti press and to the year 1532, deserves a word of notice from its connection with a celebrated passage in English history. It is an opinion by Ludovico Nogarola of Verona, also known as an eminent Grecist, against the divorce of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon. Giuliari cites an extract from one of Nogarola's letters, formerly existing in MS. in the Saibanti collection, now unhappily dispersed, which throws light on the means adopted by Henry's agents to obtain favourable opinions from the chief foreign Jurisconsults.

"It is now a year," writes Nogarola to Cardinal Clesio,[14] "since an envoy of the King of Britain came here to us, and sought to work upon all the Jurisconsults of this town by promises both of heaps of

[14] The text stands thus in the original, as quoted by Giuliari, Tipog. Veronese, p. 53. "Annus jam agitur ex quo Regis Britanniæ nuncius huc ad nos appulit, qui omnes hujusce Urbis Jurisconsultos cum auri montes, tum Regis sui benevolentiam pollicens, ambibat, ut divortium, quod cum Catherina, Hispaniarum olim Regis filia facere cupiebat, argumentis et rationibus laudarent, probarentque."

money and the King's favour, to approve and establish by arguments and reasoning the divorce that he wished to obtain from Catherine, daughter of the late King of Spain." Nogarola, at least, was not to be won over by such inducements. It may not be out of place to mention here that a considerable number of his works existed in autograph in the Saibanti collection, and it is known that the majority were sent to England, and sold to an English firm, but into whose hands they subsequently passed, Mr. Panizzi was not able to ascertain.

Several new sets of type are mentioned by Giuliari as occurring in the productions of the Veronese press during the 16th century. In 1540 Antonio Putelleto, of Portese, used a new round (rotondo) character, better than the ordinary kind, in his publication of Torello Sarayna, 'De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae,' the first civil, religious, literary, and artistic history of Verona that issued from the press. In 1542 the same printer employed a new small cursive type for another edition of Sarayna, and in 1545 a large cursive type for an account of the Lake of Garda, by Georgius Jodocus, which contains a wood-engraved map, probably the first specimen of Veronese cartography subsequent to the invention of printing.

In 1560 Paulo Ravagnan, bookseller at the sign of the Lily in Verona, published a large folio work on the antiquities of Verona,[15] which was enriched by

[15] "De le antiqita de Verona con novi agionti
da M. Zuane Caroto Pitor Veronese, cioe
Pitafi con li sua adornamenti ecc.
Verona apreso Paulo Ravagnan Libraro al
Gillio . MDLX. Fol. gr."

the drawings of Messer Zuane (or Giovanni) Caroto, and of which so few copies were printed that Monsignor Giuliari only knows of two perfect ones, both in Verona. It may be worth while to add that one of these copies is, or lately was, for sale, and perhaps is still to be had. Among the sixteenth century printers of Verona, the brothers dalle Donne deserve mention as the first publishers of works with musical notes. The Capitular Library possesses a copy of a 'Garden of Madrigals for four voices,' printed in 1578. To the same firm has also been ascribed, by Venturi, the honour of having printed the first Hebrew books published in Verona.

Besides those who worked in Verona, several Veronese printers established themselves in other towns, and produced a goodly show of books, to be added to the account of the 16th Century.

The Seventeenth Century, or Seicento, a period of transition leading to decay, is most markedly a period of typographical abasement. Types, paper, form, all is bad, says Giuliari; and as this downfall in printing was universal in Italy, it is not remarkable that we find Verona sharing in the general degradation. The number of printers in Verona during the 17th Century was so small that they could not form an Art or Guild of their own, but were attached to the Art of the Borozzieri, who appear to have been what might be described as haberdashers of small wares! It is certainly difficult, as Giuliari observes, to see what affinity led to this odd combination. There appears to be no book calling for special notice in the history of Veronese typography during

the union of printers and haberdashers in the 17th Century.

The Eighteenth Century, under the powerful impulse given by Scipione Maffei, comes before us with a very different character. It is called by Giuliari the "Golden Age of Veronese Literature." To this century belongs the splendid publication of Sammicheli's works, which forms part of my subject, and the establishment of the Giuliari press, from which those works issued. In this century a Bishop of Verona, Giovanni Bragadino, emulated his predecessor of the 15th Century, in setting up a press, in connection with his episcopal seminary.[16] Many rich Veronese families, moreover, such as the Maffei, Muselli, Ottolini, gave largely of their substance to help the production of important works. In 1728 the Capitular Library was built, and subsequently to the discovery in the cloisters of the Canons' house of the celebrated MSS. which form one of the peculiar glories of Verona, much assistance was given to the publication of works of interest by the brothers Gianfrancesco and Giuseppe Muselli, successively arch-priests of the cathedral. To the 18th Century, belong, amongst others, the following great undertakings, and they are the more remarkable as being produced by one single firm, that of Giovanni Berno, with whom was associated, for some of them, Jacopo Vallarsi:—The 'Verona Illustrata' of Maffei, the

[16] When he gave up the press, after a few years, Bishop Bragadini devoted part of the proceeds of its sale to the creation of a library for the seminary, and his successors in the see, notably Liruti and Grasser, supported by many of the principal clergy, have brought this library to the very respectable size of sixteen thousand volumes.

works of Bishop Giberti, of Biandimi, Bembo, Petavius, and of S. Hilary, S. Jerome, and Rufinus of Aquileia. Vallarsi also put forth a scheme for the publication of a complete 'Corpus Conciliorum,' in 1725.

The student of ecclesiastical history may regret that Vallarsi's scheme never took effect; it promised the printing of much matter then, and to a great extent perhaps still, inedited, especially with regard to Councils in Dalmatia and Illyricum, as well as some new documents concerning the Council of Florence, and the later Greek synods, particularly that held in condemnation of Cyril Lucar, part of the information being from MS. sources, and part from books printed at Bucharest, in Wallachia. I now come to the Giuliari press, founded and carried on by Count Bartolomeo Giuliari, from 1795 to 1827. A period of decay had again set in, and there were but three printing presses at work in Verona when this high-spirited nobleman stepped into the breach. Had his press published nothing more than the 'Veronese Ichthyolithology' and the 'Capella Pellegrini,' it would have gained itself a name such as few, if any, other private presses can lay claim to. But the productions of which it was the medium during the thirty-two years of its existence were very numerous, though of course none were on so stupendous a scale as the two works which render it illustrious.

In a set of ground-floor rooms in the Palazzo Giuliari, in the year 1796, while the French cannon was thundering from the castles above Verona, Count Bartolomeo Giuliari printed the first number of his

great work, entitled, "La Ittiolitologia Veronese del Museo Bozziano, ora annesso a quello del Co. Giovambatt. Gazola, e di altri Gabinetti di Fossili Veronesi."

Discoveries of fossil fish that had lately been made on the Monte Bolca near Verona, and of which collections had been formed by Signor Bozza, Count Gazola, and other Veronese gentlemen, led Count Giuliari to undertake this noble task. The sheets of the first number yet bear the marks of the time of trouble in which they were printed; sufficient care not having been taken to wet the sheets after taking them out of the press, some are darker than the rest, and present an almost Ethiopian swarthiness of aspect. The 'Ichthyolithology,' begun in 1795, was not finished till 1809; under the circumstances our chief wonder must be that it ever was completed. It was dedicated to the Royal Society of London, in the following terms:—

"Regiæ . Scientiarum . Sodalitati . Londinensi .
Naturæ . Investigatione . Et . Sublimibus .
Disciplinis . Præstanti . Physicorum .
Veronensium . Societas . Patriam .
Ichthyologiam . D."

I am sorry to say that although Count Giuliari sent six copies to the Royal Society, his grandson tells us that he never got so much as an acknowledgment of the receipt of the present, still less of the compliment of the dedication. It would be interesting to know whether the copies were lodged in the library of the Society, and whether they are still preserved there. The English character for polite-

ness cannot, I fear, stand high, in Verona. The Emperor Napoleon gave Count Giuliari fair words in encouragement of his undertaking, after Verona had been incorporated in the kingdom of Italy. We did not, it seems, even vouchsafe him the commonest civility. In 1809 the Government of the kingdom of Italy purchased twelve copies. In 1833 and 1835 Agassiz devoted considerable space to the examination of Giuliari's work in two publications, 'Recherches sur les Poissons Fossiles,' and 'Revue Critique des Poissons Fossiles figurés dans la Ittiolitologia Veronese.' Giuliari printed 737 copies, at an expense, as his descendant calculates, of about 60,000 francs. Not daunted by this heavy outlay, Count Bartolomeo brought out another magnificent work, the last production of his press that I shall here notice, in 1816. It is a description, with plates, of the celebrated Cappella Pellegrini,[17] in the church of S. Bernardino, at Verona, designed by Michele Sammicheli. Of the letter-press connected with this work 312 copies were printed, while the plates were struck off to the number of only 112 copies.

It is hard to decide between the relative superiority of the two great publications by Count Bartolomeo Giuliari, but his grandson's judgment is in favour of the 'Cappella Pellegrini.' Connected with the Pellegrini family, and a lover of art for its own sake, Giuliari was anxious to restore the chapel, which had fallen into decay from past neglect, and to pub-

[17] The title is 'Cappella della Famiglia Pellegrini, esistente nella Chiesa di S. Bernardino di Verona, architettura di Michele Sammicheli. Fol. (extra large).'

lish an exact record of Sammicheli's designs, of which it has been considered the "chef-d'œuvre." He carried on extensive correspondence with the most eminent architects and antiquaries of his day on the subject, and he lodged one distinguished artist whom he employed, Giacomo Mercoli, called "the Patriarch of Engravers," in his own house to superintend the execution of the work, guaranteeing him board and handsome allowances for a year and a half. The book is dedicated to the Emperor of Austria; the dedication is followed by a historical and artistic account of the chapel, comprising biographical notices of Sammicheli, genealogies of the Counts Pellegrini, and analysis of the several parts of the chapel in accordance with the rules of art; and an inedited writing of Sammicheli is printed from an autograph copy which was discovered in the archives of the "Magistrato delle Acque," at Venice. This account of the Cappella Pellegrini is the first for three centuries in which a detailed description has been given to the world of any of Sammicheli's works.

Like the 'Ichthyolithology' of the same noble publisher, the account of the greatest of Sammicheli's designs was purely a labour of love. If Count Giuliari had no reward in his own day save the consciousness of having made noble gifts to the republic of letters, we may perhaps, by the respect in which we hold his memory, make some amends, tardy though they be, and, considering the magnificent scale on which Bartolomeo Giuliari laboured, we may say in the words of a distinguished writer on

Art in our own day,[18] "Verona was a wonderful place both in art and typography, and the stamp of its greatness is on it still."

[18] The present Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, in a letter to the author of this Paper.

VI.

ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF MANUSCRIPTS,

CHIEFLY IN RELATION TO THE CLASSED CATALOGUE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ.

(Read February 3rd, 1875.)

INQUIRIES respecting the Classification of Manuscripts in general, and especially the state, scope, and literary contents of the New Classified Catalogue of Manuscripts preserved in our national collection, have been so frequently made by various members of this Society, and of the British Archæological Association, that I think in this short paper many of the usual questions may be answered to the satisfaction of a large proportion of those who desire to know, in a comprehensive way, what subjects a collection of manuscripts may be expected to embrace, and of what our great collection at the British Museum really does consist; for there is no doubt whatever, in my mind, that when the particular value which attaches to the classification of MSS. is pointed out, how it simplifies comparison and research, other libraries will feel in duty bound to accept the teaching of the keeper of the MSS. at the Museum. The British Museum, although it contains the largest collection of MSS., is not, however, the only repository of these relics of antiquity; and my sole aim will be gained if what is written

here may induce the librarians of our Universities, the librarians of the Record Office (where indeed some classification does obtain, I mean by the extensive progress of calendaring state papers in certain *Classed Series*), and those to whom foreign libraries of Manuscripts are entrusted, to follow the footsteps which Mr. Bond has directed to a really successful and practical issue. Several classed catalogues of certain branches of MSS. may be here mentioned: *e.g.*, Mr. Sims' Topographical and Heraldic Catalogue, Sir Thos. Phillipp's Catalogue of Monastic Registers and Chartularies, Sir C. G. Young's Catalogue of Heraldic MS., and a paper in the "Arts and Sciences Supplement to the English Cyclopædia," which contains under the head of "Heraldic Literature," a complete list of Visitations.

Up to the present time I have refrained from putting on record any account of the Museum Catalogue for two reasons; partly because it was not completed in its first state, and partly because I thought it would appear indiscreet in me to speak in laudatory terms respecting a laborious undertaking in the preparation of which I myself have had some considerable share. But I feel that the first objection is removed by the announcement made by Mr. E. A. Bond, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum and President of the Palæographic Society, in the last issued Parliamentary Report on the Progress of the Museum, that the Catalogue is completed; and I equally trust that the second reason will be easily allowed to subside when I here enunciate, as publicly as may be, my unreserved conviction that far more praise is due to Mr. Bond, the chief of the department, for the conception of the undertaking, and the

elaboration of this Catalogue in face of very great difficulties, than to any of those who were selected by him to work out a vast plan under his constant supervision. It is to this gentleman that all the credit of the Classed Catalogue is due; and with these sentiments, which I on my part desire to express as strongly as I can, I have prepared the following account, which is intended to give, for the benefit of those who have equally diverse collections under their care, a slight sketch of the work involved in the preparation of the Catalogue, and the amount of help it is calculated to afford to the literary peruser of its hundred volumes. It is, however, to be clearly understood that my remarks are in the main intended to convey useful information to those who have a desire to classify descriptions of manuscripts in their keeping, and in no kind of way to anticipate any detailed history of the Museum Catalogue. My notes are solely intended to be of an instructive nature, and by no means claim categorical exactness.

The cry that we used to hear so frequently fifteen or twenty years ago about the want of a Catalogue of the British Museum is likely to be soon put to silence for ever. The enormous amount of literary and scientific work produced in all the departments of our national storehouse of antiquarian treasures is well calculated to startle some among us, if the mere recapitulation of the titles of the catalogues themselves were not too extensive a task to undertake here. This Society may be presumed to be well aware of the amount of work, as it has ever been pleased to accept from the

authorities of the British Museum copies of their publications. The department of manuscripts has within the last few years made a bold stride, and bids fair to bring to a practical issue a work which has hitherto been as much an object of dread as of desire with all to whose appointed lot the management of libraries of manuscripts has fallen: dreaded, I say, because they alone can rightly estimate the extent of labour such an undertaking involves, and the difficulties of minutely critical subdivision, which, indeed, increase in proportion to the progress of the work; desired, on the other hand, because the advantages of such a work as a Classed Catalogue are only too patent, not only to those whose life and labour is, so to speak, bound up with them, but to all alike whose needs or fancies impel them to consult its pages. Of the transcendent merits of a preliminary catalogue of the entire series of Manuscripts that we, as a nation, possess, stored within the walls of the British Museum,—a catalogue, let it be remembered, arranged according to subjects, and not merely a capricious enumeration according to date of acquisition or size of volume, as all former catalogues have been,—we leave those who possess the magician's open sesame of a reader's ticket, and they are legion, to judge for themselves when they inspect the boon provided for them by the energies of the department. Although but lately finished, upwards of one hundred large folio volumes bound in red and green and blue, each colour not without a signification, stand before our view and mutely but not less eloquently call upon us to praise the efforts

of Mr. Bond who first started the work and whose immediate superintendence throughout has conduced so much to the successful completion of a task that has produced the largest Catalogue of Manuscripts in the world. These volumes call upon us to consult their pages, but not with the fear and trembling that the classic ancients experienced when they handled the mystic leaves of the oracle.

The mere statistics of this Catalogue, although I do not pretend to say much on this point, are sufficiently formidable. Upwards of forty volumes, duplicates of the older catalogues, have been cut up and distributed as the component portions of the new one; so that whereas a reader in search of a Bible, let us say, or a political tract of a given date and country, would have been constrained to wade through twenty separate volumes of catalogues, he now simply has to look at one, and that one so constructed as to limit his research to a few pages at most. Roughly speaking upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand separate articles, in most cases representing distinct manuscripts, appear to have been entered into the new Catalogue. This method of cutting up and re-arranging has thus produced a preliminary catalogue, embracing under separate heads and in separate volumes every species of Manuscript Literature; while a handy volume, containing the tabulated contents of the series and itself extending to a hundred pages, points to that individual member of the Series in which will be found the object of research. It will also be evident to any one who glances over the pages of the Catalogue that several of the classes, those for instance contain-Bibles, Classics, and History proper, have been care-

fully worked over, every manuscript examined, different editions of the same treatise noted, errors of original description rectified, and all the newest canons of the palæographer brought to bear upon them. Others, it is true, yet await this stage of adornment.

Not a single ramification of ancient and mediæval literature is unrepresented in the pages of this catalogue. As regards our own land, the number of manuscripts to be ascribed to a period anterior to the Norman conquest is very considerable, not a few divide by the date of their origin the span of years that compose our era. The number of so called Anglo-Saxon, or rather early English manuscripts, consisting principally of Bibles, Liturgies, Theology, Chronicles, and a few Scientific Treatises, is very tolerable when we consider their remote antiquity and the perils by fire and water which they have only too frequently undergone. Of Greek, Abyssinian, and many Oriental languages,[1] the representatives we possess are especially numerous, and comprise examples of the best class. But in Latin, Norman, and later French, and English the store is well-nigh inexhaustible. Even out-of-the-way dialects, like the Cornish, the Venetian, the Catalan, the Provençal, and the Illyrian occur, while the Irish, the Welsh, and the Icelandic may be numbered almost by their hundreds.

In the Classed Catalogue, of course language is to some extent subordinate to subject-matter. Hardly one branch of science or literature in which our forefathers took delight fails to be represented,

[1] The Oriental MSS. are not included at present in the Classed Catalogue.

whether we study them in their sterner moods of theology and history, or their biting sarcasms and exaggerated diatribes in prose or verse against the Religious Orders, their poetical fancies in neatly measured rhyme, their intrepid yearning after the unknown, their intrigues of state, or their eagerness after discovery. So great a mass of matter throwing a new light upon each and every of these phases of national character is piled before the reader in a fair state of order, and therefore to some extent increasing the value of what it teaches, that no reasonable man will dare to shrink from searching the catalogue before he ventures to expound his theories of the development of our manners, our customs, and our philosophy, and in one word our nationality. Pity it is that for all our seemingly immense collection, only the veriest ignorance and barbarism has prevented the preservation of twenty times the number. When we reflect how illuminations were torn from priceless volumes by maidservants to amuse fractious children, how soldiers of Henry VIII. and of Cromwell at the looting of an abbey or a cathedral rode away in surplices with an organ pipe in one hand and a service-book (the principal source of our art-pictures) in the other, or tore a whole library of such books into fragments and rolled about kneedeep in them, or how the glovers of a town supplied themselves with vellum for ten years with the produce of a single abbey library—"gloves were then" says a quaint old writer "wrapped up in many a goodly piece of antiquity"—the wonder is rather that so much has been preserved to enchant us now, to show us how the same

spirit of conscious beauty which breathes in our thirteenth century architecture, was present in its greatest power with the illuminator in the seclusion of the *scriptorium*, and with the seal engraver in those hours of labour that produced such numerous examples of simple, chastened, and yet grand conceptions of his art just before the pompous intricacy of heraldry broke in with irresistible force upon his simplicity. The future historian of his own country can now make no excuses for being content to plagiarise or at least imitate his predecessors, nor dare to but generalize alone over historical events of which much new and definite information lies ready to his hand, unless indeed he be content to share the fate of the Pacific islander, who will die starving rather than exert himself to put out his hand and pluck the ripe breadfruit overhead. The theologian shall gather long-forgotten wisdom from the ancient fathers of his Church. Augustine and Beda, Anselm and Lanfranc, Grostete and Langton, and the anonymous host whose treatises await a future ABBÉ MIGNE to publish them, are here at the beck and call of the student, who may read, from contemporary copies very often, if not from actual holographs not as yet assigned to their illustrious authors, what he has hitherto contentedly derived from an uncertain reprint. The topographer may feast upon rare old county histories never yet vulgarised, so to speak, by the printing-press; the biographer will find literary *pabulum* of no mean quality and of generous quantity; while before lovers of autographs, seals, charters, and letters, and to seekers after the marvel of fiction whether in shape of Carlovingian

or Arthurian Romance, English and Foreign drama, lives of ancient and mediæval personages, or songs of troubadours, a rare banquet is spread in the walls of old Montagu House.

The class set apart for British History is particularly interesting, and contains the complete roll of Latin chroniclers, Gildas and Nennius; Beda and Asser, the latter the boon-companion of Royal Alfred; Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham; William of Malmesbury, the most popular man of his own and after periods; Hoveden, and Matthew Paris whose very handwriting stands as characteristically defined on the pages of his books in the British Museum as when he wrote them in the library at St. Alban's; and so we glance through the length of the list until Camden closes it in the sixteenth century. And thus we have the history of a thousand years in a single volume. Nor must the SAXON CHRONICLE be forgotten, which, though a favourite with editors, yet needs a vast deal of labour in the way of gloss and illustration before its accents of heroic enterprise, and the fury of its woe may fade away from our ears.[2] Then come Public Records, calendars and extracts of which are plentiful; although of course to beard these literary lions aright, we must visit them in their den, the new pile of buildings in Fetter Lane. State Papers and Letters may be reckoned in thousands, and he will be indeed a rash man who may hope to peruse a tithe

[2] I may mention parenthetically here that the Library of Monte Casino, a Benedictine monastery near Naples, is reputed to possess a copy of a very early state of this History, which I believe has never been collated with the printed texts.

of the collection in the ordinary span of mortal years.

Civil and Canon Law, the history of ancient Councils and the texts of their decrees, which even in these later days exercise a powerful influence over church matters, National, Feudal, and English law and Parliamentary treatises, proceedings, speeches, and petitions occupy a strong position. In the sections devoted to military and maritime affairs will be found early manuscripts upon navigation, naval expeditions, tracts upon army and navy, military tactics, fortification and artillery, rules and regulations, ordnance-office books and papers, and a chronological series of documents descriptive of the principal doings of the British forces by sea and land from a very remote period; the whole section claiming a very great interest from all who hold their country's honourable exploits in days of yore a crown of undying glory. Not the least valuable among these manuscripts are large and exhaustive original collections relating to the martial period of Queen Elizabeth, the Wellington Campaigns, and the British rule in India under Warren Hastings. The catalogue of documents illustrative of Revenue and Expenditure embraces the whole systems of Exchequer, Customs, Excise, Mint, Post Office, Royal Household and Wardrobe, and generally also Public Offices and Officers. Among these many highly interesting points may be found, as for instance a small collection relating to the Revels, another of inventories of royal wardrobes from the time of Edward I., descriptions of his dresses, jewels, plate, and all the paraphernalia of his court. These books

are invaluable to any research into contemporary manners and customs, statistics of prices, wages, and valuation of domestic objects. They also indicate to a great extent and in detail how foreign wars were organised and carried on by the English monarchs of the middle ages.

References to Manuscripts of Geography and Topography are contained in five portly volumes, which of themselves show how favourite the pursuit has always been to the man of leisure; Travels, including fine manuscripts of Marco Polo and Mandeville; Pilgrimages and the incredible tales they tell; Missionary Adventures of a more veracious nature; Sea-voyages from Columbus, De Caumont, and De Castro, down through Drake and Frobisher and Raleigh, to Anson and Cook; the fascinations of the North-West Passage and the perils of the South Seas all are there in their chronological ranks. General topography and county histories are represented by a numerous collection of manuscripts; many of these are printed works with copious marginal notes and hundreds of additional illustrations, as, for example, the marvellous exhibition presented by Blomefield's 'History of Norfolk,' enlarged into about forty volumes with drawings of every object of interest in the county. Chancey's Hertfordshire, Davy's Suffolk, and Cole's Cambridgeshire claim here a momentary notice for their exhaustiveness. The mass of materials spread before the intending writers of county histories is of the most unwieldy proportions, and when this catalogue has been exhausted, they have still a collection of about forty thousand original charters to examine, not yet incorporated into the Classed Catalogue.

The sections relating to Court Rolls, Surveys, and Rentals, and Mines is of tolerable proportions. Passing on to another subject, that of Heraldry, than which no art or science has ever exercised a more enthralling power over modern as well as mediæval minds, frequently leading them as it were to other, perhaps more important pursuits, full as great a store of material awaits the herald, be he amateur or professional, as that of local history awaits the topographer:—General treatises, books of heraldic collections, an ample series of documents charged with the detailed history of the College of Arms,—Herald's Visitation books, the backbone of all our pedigrees of to-day—schemes of genealogies and descents—history of Military Orders, among which an exhaustive set relating to the 'Most Noble Order of the Garter'—not omitting the branches devoted to Chivalry, Ceremonials, nobility and precedency, and the extensive literature summed up in the word "Peerages." The science of Armoury, a middle-age outgrowth of the most multifarious kind, finds here every branch extensively represented—general books filled with thousands of coats of arms—early Rolls of warriors each under his own device emblazoned upon his shield, who fought with the three Edwards—alphabets and ordinaries or classified dictionaries of arms—grants from the king and the heralds to persons of distinguished capacity—and the miscellaneous *matériel* that so popular a subject as Heraldry and Arms was once, is sure to leave behind to bear witness to its pristine glory. Alas! like many other good old institutions, Heraldry, and we mean no

offence to the Herald's College, is dead in spirit, for all that a little of her ancient fire flickers up from time to time at Windsor and Guildhall, to flout the memory of those gorgeous pageants, those resplendent costumes in steel and silver, and gold and purple, which did much undoubtedly towards elating the martial valour of our army from the days of Edward the Third to those of his namesake two hundred years after him.

Pass we now to a more severe class of manuscripts, the Biblical, Liturgical, and Theological. In one volume are the descriptions of the Greek Bibles and Service Books, under which head are grouped a series of Lectionaries and Psalters, Martyrologies and Commentaries, many of which are of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and some embellished with that peculiar style of illumination which is like no other for its breadth of contrast, its complicated monogrammatic lettering, its well-balanced harmony of colour and design in the chequered ornamentation so much affected by Greek limners. The question how far Greek was studied in England during the early middle ages is a very interesting one and appears to be of difficult solution, for while the writings of men like St. Aldhelm and his school and the *diplomata* of the Saxon period so glitter with purely Greek words as to be simply unintelligible to any but a good Greek scholar, on the other hand, there is, as I have shown in my 'Life and Writings of William of Malmesbury,' not a single instance of a Greek word in manuscript produced in England prior to the thirteenth century which is not subjected to the most violent distortions,

and often not to be recognised.[3] Latin Bibles, Anglo-Saxon New Testaments, and English Bibles are in good number and of a fine type. Manuscripts of the Wickliffite versions of the Scriptures, of which there are two or more distinct dialectic editions, which may be styled the early and the late, are especially numerous, and some among them may be referred to the concluding years of the fourteenth century. Glossaries and arguments and the Bible history, bring up the rear of this class. Another subdivision, not less numerous nor less rich in the profuse splendour of the illuminations, delicate handwriting, or general *ensemble* as works of mediæval art of the highest point of decorations, are the Service Books, from which so much has been obtained in the way of design and effect by the illuminating school of the present age. Every country of Europe, but of course principally England, France, Germany, the Low countries, and Italy, contributes to make up the unique collection of which the Classed Catalogue takes cognizance. Missals and Breviaries, Ordinals and Pontificals, Manuals, Graduals, Antiphonaries, Hymnals, Psalters, Lectionaries, and Hours of the Blessed Virgin occur page after page in a regular stream carefully arranged by country and by date, and it is doubtful if any other library in the world possesses so complete and extensive a collection of these books. Many of them gather an additional charm from the history of their owners. Henry VIII., Anne Boleyn, and Mary, Lady Jane Grey, and Elizabeth, and half a score of monarchs of

[3] For a most interesting twelfth-century specimen of the Nicene Creed in Greek, commencing "*Pisteuo is enan theon*," see Add. MS. 23892, ff. 51–53.

the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries have left their marks behind them on the pages of these wondrous books:—while some, like the Bedford Missal and the 'Isabella Book' were prepared in an especially magnificent style to suit the fancy and please the sated eyes of their destined owners. The mere market value of some of these books is not to be calculated by hundreds but thousands of pounds. A few in the very rare and chastely beautiful style known as "Grisaille" or "Camaieu gris" demand the especial attention of the connoisseur. The mere borders of some of these art-pictures, floriated and adorned with every imaginable kind of leaf-work, carving, and intricate designs, enriched with grotesques of the animal world,—snails tilting with caterpillars and butterflies, apes and hares in counterposition with porkers in monastic garb, and foxes in human gear, are of a delicate richness of handiwork and illustrate to perfection the minute carefulness without which it would be impossible to represent so elaborate a filigree style as was the principal aim of the illuminator. Volumes might be written upon each school of the illuminations: the English famous for its clearness and breadth, the French for its delicate fineness and harmoniously assorted colours, the Flemish for its minutely stippled details, and the Italian for the gorgeous yet calm pride that is so prominently exhibited in its best specimens.

The mass of theological manuscripts is very great, and by its size alone testifies to the universal interest for the divine naturally indulged in by all classes of *literati*. The bulk indeed of learned in the early middle ages was drawn from those who had some

connection with the church. Hence we find numerous copies of sermons, early letters or epistolæ, really profound treatises, although nominally letters, tracts, English and foreign theological works, and Greek commentaries and homilies. Lives of Saints and Martyrologies appear to partake of two aspects, the ecclesiastical, in so far as they mainly treat of the divinity of the early church working through its individual members by miracles—hard things to listen to in these practical days—and rapid evangelisation of the heathen, and finally strengthening them in their hour of martyrdom and death; and the lay or purely biographical part, which is also not unmixed with elements we might now consider supernatural. The history of Religious Orders, which has become a definite and precise science ever since Sir William Dugdale, not without many a prototype in the 13th and 14th centuries, invested the English monasteries with a popular importance, is particularly cultivated in the Classed Catalogue:—Rules of St. Benedict and St. Austin—the Cistercian Reformers—Friars of different degrees, black, white, and grey, and Jesuits all occur. While of the history of our more prominent abbeys, like Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds, Ely, Malmesbury, Westminster, Kirkstall, Fountains, Melrose, and many another noble foundation which now—shall we not say, alas! in despite of modern levellers—scarcely show mouldering walls where but five hundred years ago, every elevating element of humanity found protection and encouragement, many valuable works are preserved in the Museum. Dugdale and Tanner, Peck and Archdale, Fuller and Stevens, and a score of other authors found pleasure in a task not yet com-

pleted, and England yet waits the man who shall discourse deftly about the influence of monasticism upon the culture of the layman, upon the way in which the religious in the seclusion of the cloister regulated the arts of writing, painting, architecture, agriculture, and cattle-farming.

Copies of the works of classical authors abound, but there is a falling off in early examples of them; we are mostly indebted to the neat Italian scribes of the 15th century for such as we possess, although a few of the 10th and 11th occur as the well-known copies of Aratus and Prudentius, with numberless drawings, breathing the last faint air of the Roman classical style, before it was caught up and perpetuated by the Anglo-Saxons. Latin poetry of the mediæval schools is of truly ponderous dimensions, and may be roughly divided into theological, moral, historical, Biographical, Topographical, Scientific, and Epigrammatic, or Satirical. In the last, the innate terseness of Latinity is brought to bear heavy fire upon the vices of our *atavi*, the luxury and wantonness of those days when the monasteries which had been the only refuge from rapine in the early middle ages seem to have led the way in rioting and debauchery for full two centuries or more before their dissolution. English poetry, leading off from the Saxon, consists of Collections, theological works, lives of saints, historical, biographical, and topographical, fiction, and romances, than which no manuscripts of this class are of more deeply alluring interest. Drama and all the Sciences, which want of space forbids to utter here; Magic, and the secret recipes of alchemists, Medicine as expounded by Hippocrates and Galen—charms, and the cunning of

the leech—prescriptions for man and horse, will be easily found among the volumes devoted to Science. Nor must be forgotten the heavenly maiden Music, who figures in the pages with a train of autograph compositions from the pen of Handel and Mozart and the others who belong to the classical school. Early treatises, histories, and catalogues of music, may be consulted as well as works of campanology, or the art of bell ringing; a favourite device of olden days and not even now in its decline. Music vocal, secular, and sacred, and music instrumental alike display their various treasures before the reader, who must regret that he cannot enjoy more than one of these treasures at a time.

The division containing Biography is perhaps as interesting as any in the entire series, and its volumes will be found replete with a variety of information of the most remarkable nature, principally of course with reference to personages of the 14th to the 18th centuries. Arms and pedigrees of individuals are incorporated with this branch which is arranged in alphabetical order; and the class of private letters, another exceedingly curious specification—consisting as it does of an unrivalled collection of autographs and transcripts—materially assists searches of a biographical or personal character.

The Classed Catalogue is therefore—as will be easily perceived from the somewhat lengthy, but really most superficial and condensed, account above given, for, to linger any more over the treasures it recapitulates to us, would, I fear, become wearisome —a most acceptable boon to the reading portion

of the public. Not that the student will find all his work done for him; nor let him fondly imagine that every question respecting the manuscripts has been already answered for him. On the contrary, the mere conflation of similar titles, which is mainly the object of this work, will frequently suggest to a careful inquirer newer and more difficult problems in literature than perhaps he dreamed of before. The preliminary nature of the work necessarily does not guarantee absolute perfection, but its superiority over all Catalogues hitherto produced both in conception, method of production, and practical working, cannot for one moment be denied; and these elements are as useful to those of the public who avail themselves of the proffered result, as they are to the Department of Manuscripts itself, whose members may be justly proud of having taken the first step in the new and right direction towards the classification of the priceless monuments of human intelligence committed to their care.

And now that I have as it were touched upon the most important Subjects of the Catalogue of the Museum, it behoves me to recommend most earnestly to other libraries, that they lose no time in preparing similar catalogues of their manuscripts in such a manner to accord with that of the British Museum. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Durham and Dublin, the College of Arms, the Record Office, and many other repositories of MSS. both here and abroad, have collections, if smaller, quite as diverse as those I have mentioned. Let us hope, earnestly, these few and desultory remarks will not fall to the

ground without obtaining what they are intended to produce, other catalogues similar to that of the Museum, and arranged in like manner, and therefore as useful and beneficial to the growing class of students at large.

VII.—COMMON ERRORS IN SPEAKING AND WRITING.

BY G. WASHINGTON MOON, F.R.S.L.

(Read February 24th, 1875.)

Of all the gifts which God has bestowed upon man, there is none which, considered in reference to the importance of its results, can be compared with language.

Without it, man would have been unable to comprehend a verbal expression of the will of his Creator, and would have had no guide but the promptings of instinct. And as he would have been incapable of receiving any new ideas, so also would he have been incapable of imparting any. Even had he been able, by the force of abstract reasoning, to evolve new ideas out of his own mind, he would have had no means of communicating them to his contemporaries, much less of bequeathing them to posterity. There could, therefore, have been no progress in knowledge, either human or divine; and from generation to generation the mind of man would have lain fallow.

Nor would the superiority of his intellect have added to his happiness. On the contrary, without the possession of language, the superiority of his intellect would have served only to fill his soul with yearning fruitless desires for closer intercourse and communion with his fellow-men, and with futile aspirations after the unknown. And as he would have been supreme in unutterable longings, so also

would he have been supreme in wretchedness. His hopes, desires, and aspirations, having no adequate power of expression, could have drawn forth no sympathy; his griefs and regrets, being locked up in the solitude of his own heart, could have received no alleviation; and his purest joys would have been barren of that sweetest of all delights, the rapture of sharing them with another.

We think too little of this gift, and give too little time and attention to the improvement of it. Yet he who, besides possessing a loving heart and a powerful and cultivated intellect, has the widest and most eloquent command of language, will always have the greatest influence for good over his fellow-men. If this is, as I firmly believe it to be, an indisputable fact, you will unhesitatingly pardon me for pressing it upon your careful consideration.

Grammatical criticisms are, I am well aware, very uninteresting to most persons, and are extremely difficult to make absorbingly interesting to any one. The subject has neither the attraction of novelty nor the charm of that which is antiquated. Whatever is novel respecting language requires the sanction of usage before it can become valuable; and whatever is antiquated in it is condemned as obsolete.

I feel, therefore, that I need your special indulgence while, for a short time, I direct your attention to certain popular errors in English.

Beginning with the indefinite article "*a*" or "*an*," I ask, what is more common in print than to find the latter word used rather than the former whenever it has to precede such a word as "*European*," or "*universal?*"

Until very recently, 'The Times' invariably put

"*an*", instead of "*a*", before all words beginning with a vowel. Latterly it has shown signs of a change in this respect; and I do not doubt that soon the error will be banished from the pages of that most accurate paper. In the copy published on the 15th of this month,[1] mention is made of "*a* university," and "*a* "universal bishop." This is certainly an improvement.

It seems to be the opinion of those who write "*an* "university," "*an* European war," "*an* oneness of "sentiment," etc., that the only rule to be followed in this matter is that we must always employ "*an*" before a word beginning with a vowel or with "*h*" mute, and "*a*" before a word beginning with a consonant. I would ask those writers what they imagine to be the reason for the change from "*a*" to "*an*," or from "*an*" to "*a*." Surely the fact that such expressions as those which I have instanced are never heard in conversation, might have taught the lesson that the question whether we should use "*a*" or should use "*an*" in any particular sentence must be determined solely by euphony. Even those persons themselves, who write thus incorrectly, would never speak so. They would never talk to you of "*an* one "pound note;" and why? Because, in speaking, they are guided by the ear, and guided correctly; whereas, in writing, they are guided by the eye, and consequently are led into error.

The expression "such *an* one," or "*an* one pound "note," is as incorrect as would be the expression "*an* "wonderful person." If "*one*" had the sound of the first syllable in "*only*" (which word is really "*one-ly*"), then, of course, it would require "*an*"

[1] February, 1875.

before it, as in the case of the expression "*an only* "son;" but as "*one*" is pronounced as if spelled with a "*w*" before it, it must be preceded by "*a*."

An equally common error is the using of the compound word "*an*other" instead of "*the* other." For example, Archbishop Trench says, in his admirable work 'English Past and Present,' "when you "compare two of these dictionaries with one *an*other," etc. But "*an*other" is indefinite; whereas nothing could be more definite than the comparing of two things, each with the other. Therefore, he ought not to have spoken of comparing them with one *an*other, or one with *an*other, but of comparing one with *the* other.

Again, the Archbishop says, "We see how closely "the words approach one *an*other," which is an expression that would be allowable if used concerning more than two words; but is wholly inadmissible when used, as he has used it, respecting two only; because, if two things approach each other, each approaches *the* other. In all such cases, the definite article, not the indefinite, should be used.

This error is of frequent occurrence in our English Bible. Two examples will be sufficient. In Genesis xxxi. 49 we read, "The Lord watch between me and "thee when we are absent one from *an*other." And in Daniel v. 6, we read that Belshazzar's knees smote "one against *an*other;" and yet, I suppose, he had but two.

That the English translators of the Bible well knew the difference between "*an*" and "*the*" is evident from Ezekiel vii. 2, where it is said, "*An* end, *the* "end is come!"

The difference between the definite article and the indefinite was never more clearly pointed out than it was by Charles James Fox when, contrasting his own command of language with the superior command possessed by Pitt, he said, "I never want *a* word, but "Pitt never wants *the* word."

With regard to the word "*other*," what strange nonsense its omission from a sentence sometimes makes of what is written. For instance, notice the absurdity in the following passage taken from Numbers xii. 3. "Now the man Moses was very "meek, above all the men which were upon the face "of the earth." Upon which statement we may remark that if it was so, then he was meeker than himself. Of Solomon, too, it is said, in 1 Kings iv. 31, that he was "wiser than all men;" therefore, wiser than himself, for the expression "*all men*" would certainly include him.

The error occurs in the New Testament also. In Mark iv. 31, it is said of a grain of mustard seed that, "when it is sown in the earth, it is less than all the "seeds that be in the earth," therefore, less than itself, of course.

The translators should have said that Moses was meek above all *other* men; that Solomon was wiser than all *other* men; and that the mustard seed is less than all *other* seeds.

As some writers err by omitting the word "*other*," so some err in their use of it. Henry H. Breen, the author of that excellent work of criticism, 'Modern English,' makes a singular mistake in his use of it in a certain passage in that work. He there says, "In "regard to mere length of sentences, Wilson and all

"other writers are surpassed by Hazlitt." It is evident that if Wilson and *all other* writers are surpassed by Hazlitt, then Hazlitt himself (being of necessity included in the phrase, "all other writers," *i.e.*, other than Wilson,) is surpassed by himself.

The expression "*of all others*" must not pass without a word of censure. In 'The Times' of October 22nd, 1874, there is a leading article on the reported capture of Nana Sahib, of whose atrocities the writer thus speaks: "The crime of Cawnpore marked him "out as the one man *of all others* on whom vengeance "ought to have been inflicted with exemplary seve-"rity." But how can one man be another man? One man can be *above* all others, but he cannot be *of* all *others*, nor *of any others*. The words contradict themselves; "*of*" is *in*clusive; "*others*" is *ex*clusive; hence the incongruity; for how can a man be at the same time both *in*cluded and *ex*cluded from a given category? How can a man be "*of* all *others?*"

Obvious as is this error to any reflective person, it is nevertheless a very common one, even among writers on language. I have in my possession a little work by F. Vesey, entitled 'The Decline of the English Language,' and the error occurs in a quotation on the very title page!

"*Other*" is frequently followed by "*but*" when it ought to be followed by "*than.*" Professor Bain, for instance, says in an article in the 'Fortnightly Review,' No. lxix. p. 211, "When you are sufficiently "matured for the enjoyment of poetry of any kind, "you will take delight in reading Chaucer for yourself, "with no *other* aid *but* the notes of the learned editor."

The professor should have said either "with *no aid* "*but* the notes," or "with *no other aid than* the notes."

In Gen. xxviii. 17, we read, "This is none *other but* "the house of God." It should be "*other than.*"

The word "*other*" is redundant in the expression, "I had no other alternative," because it is embodied in the word "*alternative.*" To use that expression is equivalent to saying, "I had no *other other* choice."

Closely related to the word "*other,*" is the word "*either.*" This, which means one of two, is very erroneously used sometimes to signify "*each,*" or "*both.*" For example, in Rev. xxii. 2, it is said, "On "*either* side of the river was there the tree of life." In Lev. x. 1, we are told that "Nadab and Abihu, "took *either* of them his censer, and put fire therein." And in John xix. 18, it is said that "They crucified "Jesus and two other with him, on *either* side one, "and Jesus in the midst." In all such sentences, the word "*either*" should be "*each.*" "On *each* "side of the river," etc.

Reverting to the word "*but,*" I remark that its redundant use is very common; and, strangely enough, makes the speaker say just the reverse of that which he intended to say. In 'English Past and Present,' fourth edition, p. 177, Archbishop Trench says, "Words that have changed their meaning have often "a deceivableness about them, so that a man never "doubts *but* that he knows their intention. . . . . "when indeed it is altogether otherwise." Now, as the meaning of "*but,*" as here used, is "*except,*" the Archbishop really excludes from a man's belief the very thing of which he affirms that the man is confident! As I said, the redundant use of the word

"*but*" makes the speaker say the exact reverse of that which he intended. Omit from the quotation the word "*but*," and all is clear. It will then read thus: "Words that have changed their meaning, "have often a deceivableness about them, so that a "man never doubts [but] that he knows their inten-"tion. . . . . when indeed it is altogether otherwise." The Archbishop has said, "a man never doubts *but* "that he knows;" which is equivalent to saying that he *does* doubt that circumstance.

The error occurs in the book of Job also, chapter xii. verse 2, where, with bitter irony, Job says, "No "doubt *but* ye are the people, and wisdom shall die "with you."

However, perhaps the Archbishop used the word "*doubt*" in the sense of its very opposite, "*belief*." Strange as it may seem, this is no uncommon error. In an introduction to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, p. 39, a writer says, "I *doubt* that his partiality for "his author has carried him too far." Obviously, from the context, the meaning is, "I *believe* that his par-"tiality for his author has carried him too far."

The frequency of the habit of saying the reverse of that which is intended is very remarkable. Persons say of perfunctory service, "He evidently did not do "more than he could help;" but they mean that he did not do more than he could *not* help. The most common form of the error is the using of two negatives; such as, "It won't rain, I don't think," though the speaker means that he *does* think it will not rain. But I need not now refer to any such errors.

The use of "*no*" for "*not*" is of frequent occurrence. Archbishop Trench says in 'English Past

and Present,' "Hardly knowing whether they shall "become such or *no*." In Exodus, too, xvi. 4, we read, "That I may prove them whether they will walk in "my law or *no*." In the New Testament, also, the same error is found. For instance, in Luke xx. 22, it is asked, "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar "or *no?*" *i.e.*, "Is it lawful or *no lawful?*" In each of the foregoing passages, the "*no*" should be "*not*." "Is it lawful or *not?*" etc.

The consideration of the word "*no*" naturally leads us to that of the word "*none*," which is compounded of "*no*" and "*one*." The word in both its forms is found in Isaiah xxxiv. 16: "Seek ye out the "book of the Lord, and read; *no one* of these shall "fail, *none* shall want her mate." It is evidently singular, yet it is often used as if it were plural. Persons say, "There *are* none;" "None *have* come."

In 1 Kings x. 21, we read, "All the drinking "vessels were of gold, none *were* of silver." It should be, "None [*i.e.*, no one] *was* of silver."

In the phrase "*each one*," the word "*one*" is redundant, because "*each*" means "*every one*." This error is of common occurrence both in ordinary conversation and likewise in the Bible.

So, too, in the phrases "*both of them*," and "*all of* "*them*," the words "*of them*" are redundant, or something worse; for the words "*both*" and "*all*" mean the whole, whereas the words "*of them*" mean a part only.

The erroneousness of the expression, "*I had rather*," has often been exposed. David is represented as saying in Psalm lxxxiv. 10, "I had rather be a door-"keeper in the house of my God." But until it be

shown that it is correct to say, "*I had be*," we must contend that it is incorrect to say "*I had rather be*," for the adverb cannot affect the correctness or the incorrectness of the verb to which it is joined.

Equally incorrect is it to say, "*I had sooner*." Yet in the 'Saturday Review,' No. 694, p. 220, we find this expression, "*We had sooner* read a book of Arch-"bishop Trench's."

The error has, doubtless, arisen from the abbreviation of "*I would rather*," "*I would sooner*," into "*I'd rather*," "*I'd sooner;*" and then the origin of the abbreviation has been supposed to be "*I had*," instead of "*I would*."

The word "*rather*," like many other adverbs, is often misplaced. It is so in the following sentence in Archbishop Trench's 'English Past and Present:' "It rather modified the structure of our sentences "than the elements of our vocabulary." Trench should have said, not "*It rather modified*," but "It modified "the structure of our sentences *rather than* the ele-"ments of our vocabulary."

I hope that I shall not be thought to be unduly severe upon Archbishop Trench; but really there are, in his writings, some of the strangest errors in language that are to be found in the works of any English scholar. The information which he gives respecting our mother tongue is most valuable; but the language itself in which that information is given is most faulty. Here is an odd sentence of his: "The "process of *throwing* the accent of a word *back* . . . "is one which we may note constantly *going forward*."

Is the strangeness of such a sentence to be accounted for by the fact that Trench is an *Irish* Arch-

bishop? Probably not; for here is a similar sentence from a pamphlet issued in connection with a scheme of an *English* archbishop: "*Over and above* the mission "work going on in this house, a whole family lives "*in the underground kitchen.*"

In justification of my exposure of errors in our English translation of the Scriptures, allow me to say that I expose them because that version has been spoken of, by several eminent authorities on the language, as a standard of excellence in composition. For instance, Dr. Lowth says, "*The present transla-* "*tion of the Scriptures is the best standard of the English* "*language;*" and Lindley Murray says, "*The Bible,* "*for the size of it, is the most accurate grammatical* "*composition in the English language;*" and, influenced by these authorities, many persons have attempted to justify their own errors in language by pointing out similar objectionable expressions in the Scriptures. It is, I say, for this reason that I expose them; and I hope, but it is almost against hope, that none of them will re-appear in the revised edition that is now in course of preparation. That those who are engaged in the work are able Greek and Hebrew scholars is unquestionable; but that is not enough. Long ago Dryden remarked that "*there are many who* "*understand the dead languages, and yet are ignorant* "*of their mother tongue, the proprieties and delicacies* "*of which are known to few.*" Still, I trust that the following errors will be removed:—

Here are some specimens of redundancy. The first is from Gen. ii. 17. "*Of* the tree of the "knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat "*of it.*"

"He restored the chief butler unto his butlership "*again*." Gen. xl. 21.

"Whosoever toucheth the *dead* body of any man "that is *dead*." Num. xix. 13.

"The *most* strait*est* sect." Acts xxvi. 5.

Here is a very unseemly play upon words: "Rachael had *stolen* the images that were her father's; "and Jacob *stole* away." Gen. xxxi. 19, 20.

So also in Isaiah l. 5, 6, we read, "I was not "rebellious, neither turned away *back*. I gave my "*back* to the smiters."

We usually consider that the word "*this*" refers to something *here*, and the word "*there*" to a place that is *distant*; yet we read in Numbers xx. 4, "Why "have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord "into *this* wilderness that we and our cattle should "die *there?*"

Here is a strange sentence: "Let us make a "covenant, *I* and *thou*." Gen. xxxi. 44. Let *I* make it!

Perhaps the most frequently occurring error in the Bible, and at the same time one of the most obvious, is that of a verb in the singular having a nominative in the plural. One instance of this is to be found in a sentence which I can safely affirm is repeated millions of times a day by English speaking people all over the globe. It occurs in the Lord's Prayer, and is as follows: "Thine *is* the kingdom, and the power, and "the glory." Which is equivalent to saying, "They *is* thine!" Is it not marvellous that educated Englishmen can utter that prayer day after day without perhaps one in ten thousand ever stumbling at this gross error in grammar?

Here are other passages containing similar errors:

"Thy silver *and* thy gold *is* mine." 1 Kings xx. 3.

"Where *is* the king of Hamath, *and* the king of "Arpad, *and* the king of the city of Sepharvaim, of "Hena, *and* Ivah?" 2 Kings xix. 13.

"His power *and* His wrath *is* against all them that "forsake Him." Ezra viii. 22.

"The preparations of the heart *and* the answer of "the tongue *is* from the Lord." Prov. xvi. 1.

"Before ME continually *is* grief *and* wounds." Jer. vi. 7.

"The ark wherein *was* the golden pot that had "manna, *and* Aaron's rod that budded, *and* the "tables of the covenant." Heb. ix. 4.

"*A* fading flower which *are* on the head of the fat "valleys." Isaiah xxviii. 1.

"There *was* written therein lamentations, *and* "mourning, *and* woe." Ezek. ii. 10.

Let it not be supposed that, in the foregoing instances of errors in the use of the verb "*to be*," the errors are owing to too close a fidelity to the originals of the Sacred Text. The errors are unquestionably those of the translators; for, if you turn to the various passages in the Bible, you will find that in every instance the verb is printed in Italics, showing that there is no word corresponding to it in the original. But even if there were, and if, in the originals, a noun in the plural were found to be followed by a verb in the singular, that circumstance would not justify the translators in giving us sentences so ungrammatical as those which I have quoted, or as those which follow:—

"The flax *and* the barley *was* smitten." Ex. ix. 31.

"This *and* that man *was* born in her." Psalm lxxxvii. 5.

"Fear *and* a snare *is* come upon us." Lam. iii. 47.

"Violence *and* spoil *is* heard in her." Jer. vi. 7.

"My strength *and* my hope *is* perished." Lam. iii. 18.

"Light *and* understanding *and* wisdom *was* found "in him." Daniel v. 11.

"There *was* given him dominion *and* glory *and* a "kingdom." Daniel vii. 14.

"Every man with whom *was* found blue, *and* "purple, *and* scarlet, *and* fine linen, etc." Exodus xxxv. 23.

As the errors which I have adduced respecting the disagreement between the nominative and the verb are all errors in the use of the verb "*to be*," you may perhaps think that there are no others. Would that there were not, but I find the following:—

"Out of His mouth com*eth* knowledge *and* under-"standing." Prov. ii. 6.

"When distress *and* anguish com*eth*." Prov. i. 27.

"Thy wisdom *and* prosperity exceed*eth*." 1 Kings x. 7.

"My flesh *and* my heart fail*eth*." Psalm lxxiii. 26.

"My heart *and* my flesh cri*eth* out." Psalm lxxxiv. 2.

"Mine anger *and* my fury *hath* been poured forth." Jer. xlii. 18.

"Out of the mouth of The Most High proceed*eth* "not evil *and* good." Lam. iii. 38.

"The vine, *and* the fig tree, *and* the pomegranate, "*and* the olive tree *hath* not brought forth." Hag. ii. 19.

"Moth *and* rust *doth* corrupt." Matt. vi. 19.

"Out of the same mouth proceed*eth* blessing *and* "cursing." James iii. 10.

A noun of multitude may, of course, be either singular or plural, according as it is intended to convey an idea of unity or one of plurality; but it should not be used in both senses in the same passage, as it is in the following quotations:—

"This people refus*eth* the waters of Shiloah, and "rejoi*ce* in Rezin." Isaiah viii. 6.

"The host of the Midianites *were*," and "the host "of Midian *was*." Judges vii. 1, 8.

"The people that *were* in the fields," and "the "people that *was* in the city." Judges ix. 44, 45.

"Blessed *is* the people that *know* the joyful sound." Psalm lxxxix. 15.

"My people *hath* forgotten Me, *they have* burned "incense." Jer. xviii. 15.

"*All* the people that dwell*eth* in this city." Jer. xxix. 16.

"My people *hath* been lost sheep, *their* shepherds "have caused *them* to go astray." Jer. l. 6.

"This people draw*eth* nigh to Me with *their* "mouth, and honour*eth* Me with *their* lips." Matt. xv. 8.

"This people who know*eth* not the law *are* cursed." John vii. 49.

"There *is* a generation that *are* pure in *their* own "eyes, and yet *is* not washed from *their* filthiness." Prov. xxx. 12.

The words "*each*" and "*every*" are singular, referring to one only; yet such sentences as the following are not uncommon:—

"Let *each* esteem other better than *themselves.*" Phil. ii. 3.

"*Every* nation made gods of *their* own." 2 Kings xvii. 29.

"*Every* nation in *their* cities." 2 Kings xvii. 29.

"*Every one* in the imagination of *their* evil heart." Jer. xi. 8.

"*Every* drove by *themselves.*" Gen. xxxii. 16.

"If *ye* from *your* hearts forgive not *every one his* "*brother their* trespasses." Matt. xviii. 35.

The word "*both*" refers, if used properly, to two only, yet we read thus:—

"*Both* the top of it, and the sides thereof, and the "horns of it." Exodus xxxvii. 26.

"*Both* maids, and little children, and women." Ezek. ix. 6.

The word "*either*" means one of two; yet, in the following sentence, it refers to one of five:—

"He shall not leave thee *either* corn, or wine, or "oil, or kine, or flocks." Deut. xxviii. 51.

Here again, as in many other instances which I could name, the translators are *wholly* to blame for the error, seeing that the word "*either*," which they have inserted in this passage, has no corresponding word in the original to mislead them in their translation.

The substitution of "*if*" for "*whether*" is a very common error. It occurs in such passages as the following:—

"Who knoweth *if* He will return and repent?" Joel ii. 14.

"See *if* there be any wicked way in me." Psalm cxxxix. 24.

"Prove ME now herewith *if* I will not open you "the windows of Heaven." Mal. iii. 10.

"Pilate marvelled *if* HE were already dead." Mark xv. 44.

In each of the foregoing passages the word "*if*" should have been "*whether*;" and the reason for the change will be apparent to any person who considers the meaning of the word "*if*." It is, as you know, the Saxon "*gif*," from the verb "*gifan*," to give; and is equivalent to "*given*" or "*granted*." Now substitute either of those words for the word "*if*" in any of the passages which I have quoted, and you will find that the passage fails to convey any definite meaning. But change the word to "*whether*," and the meaning is obvious.

It is remarkable that, in the last of the passages which I have quoted, there are both words, "*if*" and "*whether*." It reads thus:—

"Pilate marvelled *if* HE were" (it should be "*whether* HE *was*") "already dead; and, calling unto "him the centurion, he asked him *whether* HE had been 'any while dead." Mark xv. 44.

An error in the tense of verbs is of frequent occurrence in the Bible. For instance,

"They, supposing HIM *to have been* in the company, "went a day's journey." Luke ii. 44.

But their going a day's journey was not in consequence of their supposing HIM *to have been* in the company; but in consequence of their supposing HIM *to be* in the company. Again,

"He hoped *to have seen* some miracle done by HIM." Luke xxiii. 8.

No, he did not. What he hoped for was *to see*

some miracle, not *to have seen* it. Hope here refers to the future, not to the past. The error re-occurs in this passage:—

"He hoped that money *should have been* given "him." Acts xxiv. 26.

Surely his hope was that money *would be* given him. Once more,

"The chief captain, fearing lest Paul *should have* "*been* pulled in pieces." Acts xxiii. 10.

Unquestionably the fear was not that Paul *would have been* pulled in pieces, but that he *would be* pulled in pieces. Lastly,

"They might have had opportunity *to have* "*returned.*" Heb. xi. 15.

Impossible. They might have had opportunity *to return*, but they could not have had opportunity *to have returned.*

As for the aspirate "*h*," I cannot understand what was thought of it by the translators of the Bible; their practice respecting it is so contradictory. In the same verse I find,

"*My* hand and *mine* hand." 1 Sam. xxiv. 11.

"*Thy* husband and *thine* husband." Num. v. 20.

"*Thy* heart and *thine* heart." 1 Sam. xiv. 17; 2 Kings x. 15; Ecc. xi. 9.

And, what is stranger still,

"*Thine* heart and *thy* eyes." Job xv. 12.

Then we have, "An half, an horse, an house, an "heap, an hook, an hoof, an hart, an hymn, an heifer, "an healer, an highway, an hissing, an habitation, an "hiding-place, an horrible thing, an hairy man, and "an husband!"

I might multiply the number of such passages a

hundredfold; but I am sure that I have adduced sufficient to convince any person that, notwithstanding *all* that Dr. Lowth and Lindley Murray have said, our present translation of the Scriptures can *not* safely be accepted as a model for correctness of expression. But though I say this, I fully admit the justness of Coleridge's remark that, "Intense study of the Bible "will keep any writer from being vulgar in point of "style."

Leaving now the sacred volume, the glorious truths of which will, I trust, be one day given us in more worthy language, let us turn our attention to the strange statements that one meets with in the daily press.

Was this a miracle?

"He rode to the village; and, on his arrival there, "he turned his horse into a stable."

What kind of crying is spoken of in the following sentence?

"The Dublin town-crier could not cry that day, "because his wife was dead."

What kind of pupils has the lady who, in her advertisement, says,

"She confidently appeals to the reputation for "teaching she bears?"

And what kind of beings were these?

"A public dinner was given to the inhabitants of "roast beef and plum-pudding."

A furrier lamenting, in an advertisement, the tricks played on the public by unprincipled men in his own trade,

"Earnestly requests ladies to bring to him their "skins, which he promises shall be converted into "muffs and boas."

Another advertisement ran thus:—

"Two sisters want washing."

Here must have been a strange sight:—

"He rode to town, and drove twelve cows on "horseback."

A gentleman advertised for a horse

"For a lady of a dark colour, a good trotter, high "stepper, and having a long tail."

Another paper spoke of a horse which

"Ran away with a gig, threw out the driver and "cut a severe gash in one of his hind legs."

An American paper dilating upon the success attained by a self-made man, said,

"He arrived in California with only *one* shirt to his "back; and since then, has contrived, by close appli- "cation to business, to accumulate *over ten millions*."

Two gentlemen from New York, one of whom had been in California nearly a year, and the other had just arrived, were overheard in the following conversation. The new-comer, lamenting his condition, and especially his having been compelled to leave behind him two daughters, asked the other whether he had a family. "Yes," was the reply, "I have a wife and "six children in New York, and I never saw one of "them." After this the two sat a few moments in silence which was at last broken by the interrogator saying, "Were you ever blind?" "Oh! no," replied the other. A further lapse of time, and then the interrogator resumed the subject. "Did I under- "stand you to say that you had a wife and six "children living in New York, and you had never "seen one of them?" "Yes, such is the fact." Here followed a still longer pause in the conversation,

when the interrogator, fairly puzzled, said, "How can "it be that you never saw one of them?" "Why," was the answer, "one of them was born after I left." "Oh, ah!" and a general laugh followed.

Language, you see, may be perfectly correct, and yet may not convey to the hearer the true meaning of the speaker.

Here is another example; and, to those who have not previously met with it, it is even more bewildering than the former. To them I offer it as a puzzle which they can solve at their leisure; and with it I will conclude, merely adding that the sentence is strictly accurate as to language, and conveys an undeniable truth. It is this:—

"The son of Pharaoh's daughter was the daughter "of Pharaoh's son."

I repeat it, and emphasize the synonymous words in the sentence, that you may the more clearly see the true meaning.

"The son of *Pharaoh's daughter* was the *daughter* "*of Pharaoh's* son."

In my next paper I shall direct your attention to some amusing peculiarities of the English language.

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VIII.—GREEK RIVER-WORSHIP.

(Read April 19th, 1876.)

ALL the phases of the religion of ancient Hellas have received of recent years a closer and more philosophic attention. This attention, however, has not been uniformly spread over the whole field; striking worships, like that of Apollo or of Dionysus, have received perhaps more than their fair share of attention; other less conspicuous but perhaps equally interesting and important forms of worship have certainly received less. It has struck me as somewhat remarkable, considering how frequently the veneration paid to rivers recurs in the ancient authors, how small a part of the works of writers on mythology has been devoted to this subject. There seems to be here a lacuna, which, without further preface, I will try my best to do a little towards filling.

I.

Modern writers on the subject of comparative mythology are for the most part agreed that the religion of those peoples who confine themselves to the worship of the phænomena of nature passes through three stages. It begins with that most primitive kind of religion called by Comte fetichism, and by most other writers naturalism, the essence of which seems to consist in the belief of the

consciousness and volition of all the natural objects round man. The savage, trying to explain the world on the analogy of his own consciousness, ascribes a life and a will resembling his own not to animals only, but to trees, mountains, seas, every physical power which bars and limits his own will, and especially to sun, moon, and cloud, and the other heavenly appearances. When he prays, it is to the sun to return in spring, to the cloud to water his newly-sown field, to the forest fire to spare his hut;—just as Defoe's Friday prays to Crusoe's gun not to shoot him. In the course of ages a double change of great importance takes place. The conceptions of supernatural beings grow by degrees at once more general and more anthropomorphic. The notion that every oak possesses volition gives way to the conception of a deity of the wood; the whole realm of water is placed under a ruler of water, and the cloud no longer follows its own caprice, but is guided by the king of the heavenly regions. And as each deity now has a wider sphere, and is more completely separated in thought from that which he rules, so he becomes more and more like a magnified human being, with human thoughts and human feelings, only that he possesses both in far higher intensity. The minor spirits of field, wood, and flood, if they yet linger on in the belief of the people, are reckoned only as dæmons subordinate in their sphere to the paramount lord of the province. And even the presiding deities have a hierarchy among themselves. Thus by slow degrees there emerges an Olympus, an assembly of the spirits of the world under the presidency and control of the sovereign

Heaven, around whom are grouped a few great deities, and beneath him a crowd of minor dæmons.

Slowly, and through a succession of stages which cannot be here enumerated, all this takes place. And then, this beautiful cloud-land, formed from the imaginations and aspirations of the people, slowly loses its reality and vital force. The poets do not speak of it less, but they do not speak any longer with the same calmness of belief. Philosophers begin to whisper that all the popular myths are to be taken in a sense not quite literal. Even the people lose their faith and build no new temples. Allegory and romance supplant the sacred legend. Orators and poets still talk of the chariot of the Sun, but physicists are deliberately calculating the course which, in accordance with natural law, the light of day must pursue. The nymph is still to be seen everywhere in marble, but only the rustic is afraid of disturbing her in her glen or cave.

Such, in merest outline, is the course of growth and decay of nature-religions, through the three stages of naturalism, polytheism, and scepticism. Let us see how far this sketch can be applied to the country of Greece and the special deities of water. The primitive man deifies most readily the most obvious and striking of the natural forces which surround him. Now, in a well-watered country no natural force is more obvious than rivers. Rivers too seem specially alive; ever-changing, with constant motion and constant murmur, sometimes rising, as if in passion, over all their banks; sometimes shrivelling and decaying as if in despair. Hence we should expect to find river-worship very prominent among

primitive peoples;—and we should not be disappointed. Among some of the Dravidian tribes of Assam,[1] to take one instance out of a hundred, all the chief deities are merely the rivers of the country. In the Vedas[2] rivers are constantly addressed as deities and invoked for aid. Among all Sclavonic tribes rivers received distinguished adoration. The ancient German addressed his prayers to the Rhine, the ancient Scythian to the Danube.[3] We need not, however, seek beyond the limits of Greece to find traces of a most primitive worship directed to rivers. The object of adoration was in the first instance not an anthropomorphic deity who made his residence in the stream, as Kelpies were supposed to live in waterfalls, but the visible physical stream considered as possessing soul and will, rising and falling at pleasure, and capable of human affections and aversions. This assertion may easily be made good by the quotation of a few passages from Homer and Hesiod, invaluable as exponents of primitive Greek belief. Hesiod[4] warns his hearers not to cross a stream before washing their hands and praying, looking earnestly at the stream. He seems to have considered some apology necessary for taking such a liberty with a deity, and soiling his sweet waters. When, in Homer,[5] Agamemnon takes a mighty oath, he invokes as witnesses Father Zeus, Helios, the rivers and Gaia, and the gods of the nether world. The position in which rivers

[1] Journal As. Soc. of Bengal, 1849, p. 723.
[2] Lassen, Indische Alterthümer, i. 766.
[3] Herod. iv. 59.
[4] Works and Days, l. 735.
[5] Il. iii. 278.

are here placed between Helios and Gaia, not be it observed Apollo and Demeter, shows that they were regarded quite in a naturalistic aspect. As the sun overhead witnesses our words, so there is almost always running water near, to treasure them up against us.

There are some other passages in Homer, which show us in the most charming manner exactly the degree of anthropomorphism attributed in his age to the divinities of rivers. It must have struck all readers of the great poet how many of his heroes were children of river-gods. The latter then must certainly have often appeared in human shape. Yet that human shape takes its character from the streams themselves. Tyro,[6] the daughter of Salmoneus, is thus spoken of—

> ἣ ποταμοῦ ἠράσσατ' Ἐνιπῆος θείοιο,
> ὃς πολὺ κάλλιστος ποταμῶν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἵησιν,
> καί ῥ' ἐπ' Ἐνιπῆος πωλέσκετο καλὰ ῥέεθρα.

The river Enipeus is beautiful as being a bright stream flowing between lovely banks. But the most susceptible maiden could scarcely lose her heart to beauty of this kind. The indwelling deity or soul of the stream is clearly supposed to correspond in beauty to the lovely waters which are his physical abode; deity and stream, in fact, were so blended in the poet's mind, that they could scarcely be thought of apart, and words spoken of the one are at once applied to the other. Most interesting of all, however, to the present purpose is the stirring passage of the Iliad[7] which records the contest of Achilles with the

[6] Odys. xi. 238. [7] Book xxi.

outraged river Scamander. Not content with choking Scamander's stream with dead, Achilles dares even to address insulting words to the deity, first deriding his want of power to save those Trojans who had honoured him with many a sacrifice, and then, when he strikes down Asteropæus, taunting that warrior with the lowness of his origin, he being son of a mere river, while Pelides was descended from Zeus himself, author of the Æacid race. In human shape Scamander rises from his waves to reproach the too-daring hero, and to bid him carry on his murderous warfare elsewhere than amid the sacred waves of a Zeus-descended stream. Achilles answers only with taunts, and in bitter wrath Scamander begs Apollo to intervene for his protection. But just now, Apollo has ceased to aid Ilium, and turns a deaf ear. At last, boiling over with fury, the river hurls itself upon Achilles in waves and water-spouts, trying to overwhelm him and mingle his body with those of his many victims. Achilles flies to the shore, even there Scamander pursues, and it would have gone hard with Thetis' son but for the timely intervention of Hephæstus who comes down in fire, burning the trees on the banks of the river, slaying his fish and shrinking his waters, until he submits and sues for peace. While Scamander takes human form to address his persecutor, it is not in human form that he attacks him; not with the lance and sword of a man, but with water and floating dead bodies does he wage war. The voice is the voice of a man, but the hands are the hands of a river. So too when Odysseus,[8] quitting the sea where he has long tossed,

[8] Odys. v. 445.

makes his way up one of the rivers of Phæacia, he first prays the river to have pity on him, who straightway stays his stream and smooths his billows and makes an easy way for the wearied hero to a soft couch on the shore.

II.

Although we may find traces of naturalism in the Homeric poems, it is unquestionable that it had before their time generally given way in Greece to polytheism. But, for reasons presently to be explained, rivers were late in feeling the influence of the polytheistic current of thought, and their worship was ultimately not much affected by it. Even of the two forms of polytheism which seem to have successively occupied the Greek spirit, the former alone took them in; the latter died away without fairly reaching them. But I must explain my meaning.

In the primitive or Pelasgic times of Hellas, water was subjected to a group of divinities of a more simple and archaic character than those of whom Homer speaks as assembling in the agora of Olympus, or interfering in the disputes of mankind. First comes Oceanus, the hoary father of a thousand rivers and lakes and seas—

> [9] ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
> καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρείατα μακρὰ νάουσιν.

As to this personage, we must not let our own use of the term ocean mislead us. With Homer ocean is

[9] Il. xxi. 196.

no greater sea, but a broad river flowing round the whole earth, feeding the Mediterranean and Euxine seas, and the source of all moisture wherever found. Homer's notions of evaporation and rain-fall were probably of the vaguest, so that we must not bind him to any exact definition of the sense in which ocean is the source of water. In fact, while in some places all rivers are spoken of as sons of Oceanus, in others they are called sons of Zeus and διϊπέτεις; they are born from the moisture of heaven, only they cannot quite deny their physical connection with the stream of broad-flowing Oceanus. This deity dwells with his wife Tethys in the furthest west, solitary and unapproachable.

In Oceanus then the whole element of water is for the first time among the Greeks put into personal form. He is the deity of water, salt and fresh, even of the mists and vapours; and as water enters into the composition of all substances, Homer terms Oceanus the father of all gods.[10] In the period of mythology to which he belongs, the sea was not yet looked upon as quite apart from clouds and streams. In the traditions, however, preserved to us by Hesiod we find an attempt to assign to the sea a separate divinity. He tells of a Pontus (who, however, is little but a name) and of his eldest born Nereus. This latter is the hoary sea-god in Homeric times, and his daughter Thetis held her court beneath the waves of the Ægean. Triton, the primitive divinity, half-man and half-fish, Proteus, Phorcys the Phœnician sea-god, with Doris, Leucothea, Galene, and a a host of Nymphs represent the same stage of national

[10] Il. xiv. 201.

belief, which one may term the præ-Poseidonian. The power of these divinities is mostly confined to the salt-sea; but not by any means strictly so. Thus to our day, among the modern Greeks, the word for water is νερό, a fact which proves that there was much of the merely elemental element in the conception of Nereus. The Nereid nymphs, too, his daughters, are not always confined to the sea, but sometimes, like the Oceanides, spoken of as the deities of springs and rivers. Again the Sanskrit word trita,[11] with which the name of Triton is clearly connected, is applied in the Vedic mythology to Indra in his capacity of ruler of all forms of water: and the well-known epithet of Pallas τριτογένεια only obtains a satisfactory meaning if we suppose the first part of the word to refer to mists and clouds, whence the 'Queen of the Air' springs. There were in Hellas and Africa more than one stream called Triton, and the lake Tritonis in Libya was at all times celebrated. Even the Nile was in later times called Triton by Apollonius Rhodius. But notwithstanding all these admissions, it must be held for certain that the class of deities of whom I have spoken represent the tendency to put fresh water and salt, and, still more, mist and fluid water under the rule of different controlling powers.

The origin both of the name and of the cultus of Poseidon are involved in great obscurity. Herodotus says that this deity came from Libya; some modern writers are disposed to attribute to him a Phœnician origin; and Welcker[12] inclines to the opinion that he may have been a merchants' or fishermen's deity

[11] Lassen, Indische Alt. i. 766. [12] Gr. Götterlehre, i. 624.

whose cultus spread all along the coast, gradually reducing to the rank of mere attendant dæmons the sea-gods of earlier times. Into this controversy I cannot now enter, but the important thing to observe in the present connection is that in Homer Poseidon is constantly spoken of as the god of the sea, but of the sea only. Mr. Gladstone [13] remarks that Poseidon "has nothing in him of an elemental deity, was not in Homer's view the god of moisture, or even of water generally." This is quite true, and well illustrated by the observation of the same writer that "while Poseidon supplied a sea-deluge as his contribution towards effacing the Greek trench, it was Apollo who turned upon it the mouths of all the rivers that descend from Ida." So too, when Scamander attacks Achilles with his waves, he first appeals for aid to Apollo. And when Achilles, on his side, invokes divine assistance, Pallas and Poseidon appear, but the latter does not attempt to restrain the fury of Scamander, he only consoles Achilles and promises aid which it is the office of Hephæstus to bestow. Poseidon is above all things Olympian, own brother and ally of Zeus, but only once [14] in the Iliad are the rivers and springs represented as attending the Olympian agora. So also in Æschylus' 'Prometheus Vinctus,' the daughters of Oceanus visit the Titan at his rock and listen with sympathy to his denunciations of the young dynasty of Zeus and his brothers.

It is true that we find temples erected to Poseidon far inland, and springs sometimes supposed to be immediately under his influence. In the temple of Poseidon Hippius, for instance, at Mantinea in

[13] Juventus Mundi, p. 243. [14] Il. xx. 7.

Arcadia[15] there was a spring said to flow salt from the earth, and regarded as a sort of incarnation of the deity. This, however, is easily explained. Every one who has studied mythology from the historical point of view, knows how rapidly when a deity has become, so to speak, the fashion, he absorbs the attributes of a multitude of local or more primitive gods. Arcadia was a country where early forms of worship were long preserved. A cultus no doubt arose around the spring of Mantinea in early times and a purely elemental worship of salt-water established itself within the temple built to preserve and seclude the spring. That this elemental worship should later be merged in the Poseidonian cultus at a time when Triton himself was said to be a son of Poseidon and Amphitrite need surprise no one. No doubt in many parts of Greece, in historical times, fountains even of fresh water were associated with Poseidon. The explanation of this is, first, that the deity of the sea would naturally tend to extend his sway over lesser waters of any kind, on the same principle on which a government once fairly acknowledged in the capital of a country usually acquires some sway over the rural districts. And this spread of sway was further helped by a piece of very natural imagery. The waves of the sea are in the language of natural poetry constantly compared to galloping and racing horses, whence in time Poseidon as god of sea became the lord of horses and the patron of horse-racing. But streams springing from the ground were also among the Greeks likened to horses and called by their name, whence they were naturally placed under the authority of Poseidon Hippius.

[15] Pausanias, viii. 10.

We find, then, that the worship of rivers among the Greeks was not absorbed in the spreading cultus of the Olympian deities. They are præ-Olympian gods, who do not take kindly to the new dynasty, but preserve a rugged independence in their own territories.[16] We may compare rivers and springs to the bourgeoisie of a country which goes on in its old ways, nearly unaffected by the changes of dynasty or of constitution which the country undergoes. It would not be difficult to find reasons for this. Firstly, it is probable that the beliefs which seize the human mind earliest in the course of its progress, become more deeply rooted, and less liable to modifications; and no cultus arises earlier among barbarians than the veneration of rivers and springs; a cultus, be it observed, which has lasted in Europe almost to our own day, long after most other forms of nature-worship have become extinct. Secondly, it is impossible to do away with the distinctively local character of rivers. Sun, moon, and stars, are the same in every part of a country, the heaven, the winds are the same; the high-sea too is the same in every part when one stands off a little from the shore, but no two rivers are alike. Scenery, colour, habits, distinguish these one from the other; as the Hellenes became a people, the ideas of the best among them as to the heavenly bodies, meteorological phenomena, earth and seas, prevailed over the ideas of the worst, until a national Pantheon was formed, and everywhere prevailed, especially in consequence

[16] Welcker (Griech. Götterlehre, i. 269) cites an interesting Swedish superstition, that the old pagan gods, when worsted by Christianity, took refuge in the rivers, where they still dwell.

of the Homeric tales. But it was not possible for dwellers by the Acheloüs, the Alpheius, and the Strymon, to suppose that all those streams at once were the seat of a single or even of a set of closely allied divinities, or to form a mythological type which would suit the character of all alike. One river is impetuous and noisy, another slow and majestic, another dark and mysterious, and all these characteristics must be found also in the stream-deities.[17]

Two rivers must here be mentioned which have in Greece a typical or general worship, even beyond their own banks.

The Acheloüs is by far the largest river of Greece, and flows through the Pelasgic district of Epirus, where were the earliest oracle of Zeus, and the primitive seats of the Hellenes. It is therefore not surprising that this river was the first and chief of all in Greek worship. In fact, all streams were called by the name, and considered as the children of Acheloüs, or rather, as his younger brothers, he being the eldest of the 3000 sons of Oceanus. His name became almost synonymous with that of the great stream Oceanus, and even the colonists in Italy and Asia Minor retained traces of veneration for him. In a remarkable coin issued at Metapontum in South Italy[18] we find the inscription ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ and the figure of Acheloüs, a human form surmounted

[17] It is no part of my plan to compare with the development of Greek religion that of other stocks. But I believe that in the Assyrian, Scandinavian, and other mythologies will be found traces of a very primitive nature-worship, and in particular river-worship which preceded, but was not entirely superseded by the appearance of a national Pantheon.

[18] Millingen in Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. i. 142.

by a bull's head, indicating that even in Italy local games existed which bore his name and celebrated his renown. Pausanias[19] tells us that in the territory of Megara was a place called Rhus, through which, in former times, water used to flow from the mountains. Theagenes, having turned aside the stream in another direction, raised an altar, not to the local deity, be it observed, but to Acheloüs. At Oropus,[20] Acheloüs was represented beside Cephissus at the altar of Amphiaraüs. Readers of the delightful tale 'Undine,' will remember how Kühleborn exercises sway by means of his family connections over the whole country surrounding Ringstetten. It was in much the same way that Acheloüs exerted a wide influence; and it was supposed that if he was pacified, a minor stream would scarcely dare to complain of violence offered. The head of Acheloüs is represented on the coins of Acarnania (Pl. i. 5); curiously the head is beardless, strange as it seems that the father of all Greek rivers should be youthful.

The Alpheius held in the Peloponnese much the same position which the Acheloüs held in Northern Greece. Just as the latter river was closely connected with the worship of the Pelasgic Zeus, so the former was connected with the Zeus-worship which had its centre in Elis. Pindar joins the name of the Alpheius to that of the twelve great Gods in his eleventh Olympic ode, and Pausanias[21] records that the sacrifices to Alpheius and Artemis were offered on the same altar. Nestor, at Pylus, sacrificed a bull to Poseidon and a bull to Alpheius.

[19] Pausanias, i. 41. [20] Paus. i. 34. 2. [21] V. 14. 5.

There are certain characteristics which seem to belong to almost all the deities of water, if we except the late and more anthropomorphic Poseidon and Amphitrite, with their dependants. The first of these is a capacity of changing their shape: Nereus when seized by Herakles, Proteus in the grasp of Menelaüs,[22] Thetis beneath the rough wooing of Peleus, all change their forms rapidly. They became 'a bristling boar, a fierce tigress, a scaly serpent, a tawny lioness,' or even assume the more intangible form of fire or water. So too Acheloüs, when a suitor for the hand of Deianeira, is said, in the well-known passage of the Trachiniæ,[23] to have appeared sometimes in the form of a bull, sometimes in that of a serpent, sometimes as a man with bull's head. The primary meaning here is undoubtedly physical. Nothing so much impresses upon the mind the idea of fleeting and change as the contemplation of a river hurrying on to the sea, yet beneath all changes it still abides in a sense the same. Now its impetuous course resembles the charge of a wild boar, now like a bull it tears up and tosses about trees and rocks, then again it shrinks into narrow bounds, and looks like a long serpent crawling slowly through the plain, or for a time all but disappears under the sun of July. But in whatever form it appear, if you only watch it with patience, it will return at length to its natural and unexcited condition. Or again, take the sea. This does not like the river change in volume, but its aspect varies remarkably. The Mediterranean especially alters like the hues of a diamond. No one ever saw the Bay of Naples look

[22] Odys. iv. 450. [23] L. 9.

just the same on two successive days or in two successive hours. But in the magical power of changing forms there is a further meaning which may or may not be based upon the physical. This lies in the idea that all deities of water are closely connected with magic, divination, and prophecy. It may be that the monotonous dash of waves upon the shore, or the constant babbling of the mountain streams has a tendency to raise the uncultured mind to a degree of ecstacy in which its imaginations pass beyond the mortal limit, and present and future seem to lie alike revealed. Or it may be that certain mineral or sulphurous wells notably possessed this inspiring power, and that the power was attributed rather to the water or the water-deity of the well than to its peculiar character. Or it may be that the constant descent of the sacred water from the sky, the immediate presence of Zeus himself, and the vivifying force which moisture exerts over all things which spring from the ground, may have fostered the veneration with which the Greeks regarded all water, so that Pindar says Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, and Thales, earliest of philosophers, made water the substance of the whole universe.

Whichever of these notions were most operative, or if all worked at once, in any case it is certain that seas and rivers and their deities were closely connected with oracles and soothsaying. Nereus alone can direct Herakles to the garden of the Hesperides; Proteus alone can tell Menelaüs how he may regain his home, as well as inform him regarding all that has been happening there. Ino and the Nymphs have oracles. The close connection of Acheloüs with the oracle of Zeus at Dodona is proved by the words with which

every response of that oracle terminated—"Sacrifice to Acheloüs." When any person had been restored to health through consulting the oracle of Amphiaraüs, he threw money into a well sacred to the hero. Some wells possessed virtues of a restricted nature in regard to divination. We read in Pausanias[24] of a well sacred to Demeter, to which those resorted who were afflicted with a disease, and wished to learn whether they were destined to recover or to perish. The mode of consulting the oracle was peculiar. People let down to the surface of the water a mirror suspended by a cord. Then, after a sacrifice and prayer, they looked down at the mirror, and from what they saw in it, anticipated a prosperous or unfavourable event. At the spring[25] of Inus, in Laconia, was a small but deep lake, through which the water rose. Into this lake suppliants used to cast small cakes; if these sank into the depths, they judged that their persons as well as their gifts were acceptable to the powers. But if the bubbling water threw back their rejected offering, they augured the worst.

But perhaps the best known of these prophetic wells were the springs called Palici, in Sicily. These springs now rise in a small lake, but Diodorus[26] says that in his time in the temple of the Palici were two deep basins agitated by volcanic springs. These were regarded especially as the deities who watched over oaths. In their presence the most solemn oaths were taken, and it was said that so present was the force of the deities, that perjurers often departed blinded from their presence. These springs afford us an excellent instance of a pure nature-worship, round which a

[24] Paus. vii. 21, 5. [25] Paus. iii. 23. 5. [26] Diod. xi. 89.

circle of myths grew rapidly. The water-spirits were said, in times when polytheism had succeeded to the mere naturalism to which they doubtless owed the beginning of their cult, to be the children of Adranus and Aetna, the daughter of Oceanus. An elaborate myth arose to explain their name, which the Greeks derived from *τὸ πάλιν ἱκέσθαι*, and their cultus.

The guardianship of oaths, assumed in Sicily by the Palici, was attributed in Hellas proper to the celebrated Styx, by whose stream the deities swear, and dare not break their oaths. The river Styx rises in Arcadia amid scenery so barren and drear, and flows so much of its course in deep gulleys and crevasses, that it was early spoken of as the chief river of the under-world. Homer describes *τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ* in terms which show that he was acquainted with its physical aspect. The stream falls or rather trickles through the rocks, and the ancients[27] give an extraordinary account of the virus of its waters, which would shatter a vessel of clay or stone, nay, even of gold and silver, and could only be retained in a bowl made of horse-shoe. Modern travellers say that this tradition still lingers on the spot. The goddess Styx plays an important part in the Theogony of Hesiod, where she is represented as the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, and the mother of Kratos and Bia, and a firm ally of Zeus in his contests with his rivals. The rivers of Epirus, which were also placed in the nether-world, were not so distinctly personified; but it is recorded[28] that on the Acheron was situate a *νεκυομαντεῖον*, where the spirits

[27] Paus. viii. 18.

[28] Herod. v. 92.

of the dead could be summoned up and consulted by the living.

One interesting fact strikes us while considering these instances of water-worship, namely, that this form of religion had its deepest roots and its widest extension among the more primitive and retired peoples of Hellas. The veneration of the Palici was doubtless inherited from the Sikel peoples of Sicily. It was in the primitive regions of Epirus and Acarnania that Acheloüs was venerated. But Arcadia, the most secluded and undisturbed of all Greek lands, offers us the most frequent instances. There almost every stream seems to have claimed homage. The Styx is Arcadian, so are the lakes of Pheneus and Stymphalus. At Stymphalus and Heræa temples were erected to river-gods. At Psophis[29] we find a temple of the river Eremanthus, and in it apparently statues of most of the rivers known to the Greeks, all, we are told, made of white marble, except the Nile, which was made of black. These facts afford a distinct confirmation of what was above stated, as to the essentially primitive and naturalistic nature of river-gods, and their radical dissidence from the completed Greek Pantheon. One statement of Cicero[30] is worth mentioning, as showing that the connexion of water with divination had its origin previous to the separation of the Greek and Latin stocks; he says, "in augurum precatione Tiberinum, Spinonem, Almonem, Nodinum, alia propinquorum fluminum nomina videmus." Indeed in England we find traces of the same feeling; for there exist, or lately existed, among us divining wells, into which those in difficulty used to throw a small

[29] Pausan. viii. 24. 6.

[30] Cicero De Nat. Deor. iii. c. 20.

object, such as a needle, or a piece of money, and judge of the future by the size and nature of the bubbles which arose.

Rivers, again, among the Greeks, or at least among those peoples of Asia Minor who were closely connected with the Greeks and influenced their mythology, were certainly also connected with music. It may be that the monotonous sound of running water is, among uncultivated peoples, rather conducive to that elation of mind which finds a vent in prophecy than suggestive to a musical ear. Notwithstanding, it is part of the primitive poetry of nature to rejoice in the melody of running streams, and to think of them as singers and musicians. Thus, for example, the river Meles, of Paphlagonia, is sometimes (Pl. ii. 11) represented on coins of Amastris as playing on the lyre. There may be here a pun upon the name Meles, which a Greek ear would naturally connect with μέλος, a musical strain. But there is probably something more than a mere verbal play. The Phrygian river Marsyas is beyond a doubt closely connected with music. This stream emerges from the ground amid rocks in the market-place of Celænæ, and there was at that city a statue of the god of the river seated on a rock. The coins of Apamea present us (Pl. ii. 12) with what may well be a reproduction of this statue. On them we see Marsyas as a young male figure, reclining amid a group of rocks, bearing in his right hand the usual cornucopiæ of river-gods, in his left the rural pipes. A bearded figure of Marsyas reclining in the accustomed attitude of river-gods, with a tight-fitting garment around his waist, and holding his pipes in his hand is also offered us in

a bronze acquired by Payne Knight in Italy, and now preserved in the British Museum. It was published by Gori[31] as the Etruscan Pan, but I think a comparison with the coin of Apamea will convince any one that the present attribution is more sound. (It is represented in Plate iii.)

Marsyas, the unhappy rival of Apollo, is usually spoken of merely as a shepherd-god, and the Silenus of Phrygia. It is, however, quite certain that by origin he was a river-divinity. If further proof of this, beyond that afforded by the monuments already quoted, be required, it is easily produced. The river Marsyas is said to have sprung from the blood of the divinity when he was flayed by the victorious Apollo, and the pipes after the contest were carried by the stream of Marsyas into the Mæander. Pausanias[32] records a local legend of the people of Celænæ, that when their city was attacked by the Galatæ, Marsyas defended them both with the water of the river and with his flutes. And it is easy to extract the meaning of the Apolline myth. Science and education, which are here as ever represented by Apollo, easily vanquish the uncultivated strains copied by rustic pipers from the sounds of nature, the babbling of rivers, and the sighing of winds, untouched by human thought, and untransformed by culture. It is very interesting to find an embodiment of this idea produced at an early period, and in the country of Italy, so far

[31] Several of the monuments in the plates are not unpublished. But, considering the rarity of archæological books in England, I preferred giving a fresh representation of them to giving a mere reference which few readers could verify.

[32] x. 30.

removed from the land where the veneration of Marsyas prevailed. Some other striking characteristics of the deities of rivers will be discussed further on, when I reach the subject of their representations on the monuments of antiquity.

The kind of sacrifice offered to rivers and springs were different at different times. There can be little doubt that in very early ages human beings were the favourite offerings, either captives taken in war, or victims selected from the people. Such tales as that of the sacrifice of young men and maidens to the Minotaur of Crete, and that of the exposure of Andromeda to a sea-monster, certainly show that the præ-Olympian gods, among them doubtless the deities of water, claimed these inhuman rites. But by Homer's time they had been superseded by less revolting sacrifices. Homer mentions three kinds of sacrifice as offered in his time to rivers. Of these the most distinctive is the drowning in the stream of living oxen and horses. Thus Achilles says[33]—

> ῷ δὴ δηθὰ πολέας ἱερεύετε ταύρους,
> ζωοὺς δ' ἐν δίνῃσι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους.

These animals were doubtless originally intended as substitutes for human victims, and they were driven into the river perhaps in order that as the water overwhelmed and sucked down the bodies, so the god of the water should feast upon their souls. Equally common with the substitution of animals for men among barbarous peoples is the substitution of a representative part of a man for the whole. This also is mentioned by Homer. Thus Peleus vows the hair

[33] Il. xxi. 131.

of Achilles to the river Spercheius, if he returns safely from Troy. With that hair also he promises to offer hecatombs of cattle. These last-mentioned burnt-offerings naturally became after Homer's time the most usual; but both of the other kinds of sacrifice survived in Greece as long as paganism itself. Cleomenes,[34] in the Persian war, having occasion to cross the river Erasinus, sacrificed to it. Bridled horses were driven into the lake Deine by the Argives, as a sacrifice to Poseidon.[35] And of the dedication of hair, in particular, we have a crowd of examples. Thus, in the beginning of Æschylus' 'Choëphoræ,' Orestes approaches, bearing a lock of hair dedicated to the river Inachus. Pausanias says that the youths of Phigalia used to sacrifice their long hair to the river Neda, at that spot where it approached nearest to their city walls.

The dedication and sacrifice of hair shows us in how tribal a light river-gods were regarded by the dwellers on their banks. Peleus in particular seems to regard Spercheius as a tribal or household god, attached by a strong local tie to his family, and specially interested in preserving its members wherever they might he. This will account for the fact, which is otherwise puzzling, that so many noble houses traced their descent from a river-god. Scores of Homer's heroes are thus descended. Even in later ages the pugilist Euthymus was said to have been in fact the son of the river Cæcinus. This notion is found outside Greece also, the German chief, Virdomar,[36] among others, boasting his descent from the Rhine. We thus gain a curious illustration of the

[34] Herod. vi. 76. [35] Paus. viii. 7. 2. [36] Propertius, iv. (or v.) 10. 41.

fact that home-feelings and love of country attach themselves perhaps sooner to rivers than even to woods or mountains; they become our friends, and we almost expect them to sympathise with our griefs and sorrows. They are ever at our door to listen to our complaints, and it is by their waters that our daily strength and vigour are sustained.

The deities of rivers, with a few notable exceptions, such as Styx, were male. They were not, however, the only divinities of fresh water which were worshipped in Greece. Fountains, and usually lakes, were thought of as female, and held as important a place in Greek fancy and folk-lore, as did the rivers themselves in Greek worship and historical tradition. The queen of them all was the Arcadian Artemis, who, whether as moon-goddess or as the divinity of forest and hill, was termed *λιμναία* or *ποταμία*, and placed at the head of fresh-water deities. In this aspect Artemis was venerated on Mount Taygetus, at Sparta, and especially at several places in Arcadia. As she roamed abroad, whether armed as a huntress, or to tend with gentle care the young of the forest beasts, she was ever attended by a train of lovely nymphs. Ancient writers do not sufficiently distinguish Naiad, Oread, and Dryad; all alike follow the sister of Apollo; all alike are skilled with the bow, and merry comrades for Satyr and Pan. But as a class, the spring-nymphs are by far the most important; them especially the peasant dreads; to them is sacred many a cave, and they alone have oracles where their pious votaries may learn the future. Odysseus, when, after long battling with misfortune, he at last reaches his native island and makes his

way over it, first venerates the nymphs of the district.[37]

> *Νύμφαι νηϊάδες, κοῦραι Διός, οὔποτ' ἔγωγε*
> *ὄψεσθ' ὔμμ' ἐφάμην* ——

In seeing the country, he saw the nymphs who were the life of it, and fostered with gentle care its living growth. Passages like this help us easily to understand how in Greece almost every city had a local nymph, who was mixed up with the legends of its foundation and personified its site; and in some districts, notably in Crete, the nymphs were some of the most venerable and important members of the tribal Pantheon.

I have above laboured to establish a connection between river-divinities and music, which had escaped some of the best known of previous writers. But on the connection between the nymphs of springs and music I need dwell at no length, because it is familiar to all students of mythology. The nymphs in particular of the fountain Libethrias,[38] in Bœotia, and of the spring of Castalia, were the patronesses of lyric poetry:—

> Nymphæ,[39] noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi carmen
> Quale meo Codro, concedite;——

The Muses at Helicon were connected with the sacred fountains of Hippocrene and Aganippe, and seem to have been originally but the local nymphs of springs. The contest of Apollo with Marsyas is exactly parallelled by the contest of the Muses with the Sirens; the defeat of the latter also typifying the suppression of barbarous pastoral song.

[37] Odys. xiii. 356. [38] Pausan. ix. 34. 3 [39] Verg. Ecl. vii. 21.

III.

It is, however, time to pass on towards accomplishing the main object of the present paper, by trying to bring into a focus the various pieces of information concerning the worship of rivers which I have been able to glean from a study of the remains of ancient art. I shall first cite those representations which belong to the best time of Greek art, and under which there seems to lie a real belief. Merely poetical and allegorical representations I shall treat of afterwards.

The first group of representations bearing on the subject of river-worship which will strike every student of Greek art, is that in which appears a contest between Herakles and some watery power. The best known of these contests is that between the Doric hero and the great Acheloüs, father of the rivers of Greece, for the hand of Deianeira. In the above-cited and frequently quoted passage of the Trachiniæ, Deianeira tells of this contest, and how the river-deity appeared to her in three shapes; as an ordinary bull, as a man with bull's head, and as a serpent. Dr. Birch and Mr. Millingen have both in these pages published vases which give a representation of the contest, and have gone at length into the whole subject. I shall, therefore, pass it by in silence. But Acheloüs is not the only river-god subdued by Herakles. On the coins of Selinus, in Sicily, is represented a battle between Herakles and a bull, which he seizes by the horn, while he raises his club to strike it (Pl. i. 3). A similar contest between Herakles and a man-headed bull is represented on a small bronze ornament, which probably formed part

of a mirror or a cista, and is now in the British Museum (Pl. iii.). Both these monuments represent, as I think I shall presently be able to prove, the overcoming of river-gods by Herakles. Some writers have gone so far as to suppose that the Erymanthian boar and the Cretan bull, which Herakles overcame and brought to his master, Eurystheus, common subjects on vases, also typify impetuous and fierce mountain streams with which the hero contended. Certainly it is true that both bull and boar are natural types of mountain streams in flood; yet, I can hardly myself think that in these particular cases rivers are intended, chiefly because I cannot, in that case, understand why they should have been dragged away as prisoners from one country to another by the victor. In the coin of Selinus quoted, Herakles strikes his antagonist with the club; but in almost every case in which his contest with the Cretan bull is represented, he is binding the animal with a cord, a fact which seems to me to establish a difference between the scenes, and makes me doubt if a river be intended in the latter case, as it certainly was in the former. Moreover, the Cretan bull is distinctively spoken of as fire-breathing (πύρπνους), which term suits the notion of a river extremely ill.

A few words are required in explanation of these scenes. Perhaps the first and the most obvious interpretation of them is derived from the natural opposition which would arise between a young and aggressive cultus, like that of Herakles, and the deep-rooted and conservative worship of rivers. It is a well-known and universally recognised principle in the interpretations of myths, that a contest between one cultus

and another, or even one set of worshipers and another, appears in myth as a contest between the rival deities themselves.

In the present case, however, this explanation is not sufficient. The Greeks certainly held a real hostility to exist between Herakles and the element of water. Thus on the obverse of the coin of Selinus, already mentioned (Pl. i. 10), we see the river Hypsas sacrificing at the altar of Apollo, round which is twined the serpent, emblematic of purity and health; while, behind him, appears a marsh-bird passing away to the right, evidently because the swamps through which the river had formerly to pass are all dried up, and no congenial dampness remains. In the tale how Herakles drove away the Stymphalian birds, which were also the birds of the marsh, we have another proof that the Greeks considered Herakles as a god who, like Apollo, spread health and drove away disease by drying up marshes. Undoubtedly at this period the identification of Herakles with the sun-god was complete; and the enmity between sun and water, whether the water be in the shape of river, sea or cloud, is so obvious a fact in nature, that we may be sure the Greeks would embody it in many a myth. It is clearly embodied, for example, in the tale of the Niobids, the tender streams which are dried up by the scorching sun of summer.

But there still remains something to be explained. Pausanias,[40] for example, speaking of the lake of Pheneus, says that Herakles had in early times formed a canal to drain it, which canal was still in existence in his own time. Sun-gods may dry up marshes, but

[40] The whole subject discussed by Curtius, Pelopon. i. 186.

it is not by means of canals that they do so. Herakles is clearly in the legend of Pheneus presented in his more human aspect. He represented the skill and energy of the early Dorians, as Theseus and Iolaus did that of the early Ionians. Indeed, he was more than Dorian—Hellenic; and the piety of any Greek people, who had lost trace of the true authors of an engineering work of great utility, would naturally ascribe the honour of it to Herakles. Works of a similar character in other parts of Greece bore his name, and so did no doubt works at Selinus. By such works the furious and destructive character of rivers, and their habits of overleaping their banks and spreading into marshes, were quelled; and, as it is in virtue of violence of this kind that rivers were likened to bulls, their defeat in the character of bulls admirably symbolises the change in their aspect.

If we leave these contests between river-gods and heroes, the monuments of antiquity do not furnish us with much information, except as to the forms under which rivers were conceived by their adorers. They very seldom occur as playing a part in mythological action, but usually are either isolated or mere adjuncts.

Of the various forms under which they are represented one of the most frequent is that of a bull, whether with a human head or a bull's. The reasons usually given why a bull was considered to typify suitably a flowing stream, are chiefly three. The rapid and impetuous course of the mountain streams of Greece has been compared to the rush of a bull, their roaring to its bellowing, and it is an image of a very primitive fancy to compare the branching of

streams into separate channels to the diverging horns of a bull. To these reasons we may add that the bull is a symbol of the productive power of nature, which power the Greeks placed specially in water, and rivers in particular, rivers which in the climate of Greece are far more necessary than in ours to all agricultural production.

A good instance of the appropriation of the type will be found in the case of Thurium, the very name of which city is derived from the impetuousness of the streams in its vicinity, and the type of its coinage (a specimen Pl. i. 1.) is a bull charging violently, with a fish in the exergue, to show that water is intended. The river Mæander, though by no means so swift, is represented on coins of Magnesia (Pl. i. 2) by a humped bull butting, in the midst of the elaborate pattern which represents in conventional form the windings of the river itself. The man-headed bull is, however, a far more usual image. The coins of Catana (Pl. i. 6) present the river Assinus under this form, kneeling or swimming between an aquatic bird and a fish; the former marks the surface of the stream, the latter its depths. In the coins of Neapolis (Pl. i. 4) Nike appears crowning its river, as the local civic deity; in the coins of Gela (Pl. i. 7) we find a noble and majestic human head fitted on to the bull's form to represent the river Gelas;[41] and finally a coin of Aluntium,

[41] This head is interesting in other ways. Prof. Colvin tells me that in type it a good deal resembles the head of the figure found at Olympia, and called by the Germans Kladeos. The expression of the two heads is, however, different, about that of my coin there is much of the Lysippean Herakles; the head of the so-called Kladeos is far more benevolent and dreamy.

(Pl. i. 8) to leave no doubt as to the meaning of this type, shows a stream of water flowing from the human mouth of the bull. The river Acheloüs is frequently represented on vases in the shape of a man-headed bull, notably on a vase published in these pages by Mr. Millingen.[42] Lastly, on a vase of late date now in the British Museum, but formerly in the collection of the Duc de Blacas[43] we find a nymph bearing a hydria riding on a river, who is represented in this same form and advances towards a fountain.

There is an old and notable controversy as to this human-headed bull; for the learned Eckhel, Panofka, in his description of the last-mentioned vase, and a multitude of able authors, consider that rivers do not often, with the exception of the Acheloüs, appear in this form, but that Dionysus Hebon is intended, whom we know from ancient writings to have been both represented and addressed as a bull. And when we find on the back of this man-headed bull a Mænad brandishing the thyrsus,[44] we may naturally be pretty sure that we have a representation of Dionysus. But it is easy to prove, on the other hand, that rivers were frequently thus represented. After the examples above cited, and especially the coin of Aluntium and the vase of Millingen, small doubt can beleft as to this matter. And turning to literature, we find positive confirmation. Ælian[45] states that the Erasinus and Metopus were worshipped under the form of a bull at Stymphalus, the Eurotas at Sparta, and the Asopus at Sicyon. The

[42] Trans. R. S. L. vol. II.
[43] Musée Blacas, Pl. xxxii.
[44] As in a gem at Florence.
[45] Var. Hist. ii. 33.

line of Horace 'Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus' is familiar to every one.

It must be confessed that it is sometimes difficult to say whether in a particular instance a man-headed bull is intended for Dionysus or for a river. Indeed, if there be no fishes, no wine-cups, none of the usual attributes of the god of wine or the gods of water, it is well-nigh impossible. We know from the coins above cited of Gela, Catana, and Aluntium, that in Sicily a river was intended. But in Campania it is far harder to be sure. If the current opinion as to the wide spread of Dionysiac rites and worship at an early period all over South Italy rested on a secure basis of historical induction, we might be inclined to find a trace of that worship in the coins of Nola, Neapolis, etc. But the opinion on the contrary rests on a very narrow basis.[46] And as to gems and vases, of the ultimate provenance of which we can seldom be sure, there is often no possibility of forming a strong opinion.

As a matter of fact the worship of Dionysus was closely connected with that of water. Dionysus, as the deity of the growth not of the vine only but of all crops, was connected with that warm moisture which in the opinion of the ancients was the source of growth and fertility. The Dionysiac orgies were celebrated far away among the streams and woods in the land of nymphs and seilens. And perhaps I may, without being suspected of jesting, add another reason for the close connection of Dionysus with rivers. As the Greeks never drank wine unmixed,

[46] Kramer: Styl u. Herkunft der bemahlten Griech. Thongefässe, p. 138.

wine and water were with them in closer and more frequent connection than with us, and this connection of fact would soon pass into mythology. On a very interesting amphora[47] we find, above, Dionysus seated on a bull, and below, Poseidon, who here typifies water merely, seated on an exactly similar bull. The places where Dionysus was worshipped, spread over all countries, were commonly called Nysa, which name is probably connected with the root *νε* or *νυ* denoting swimming, from which root come the name Nereus,[48] and the words *νᾶμα*, *νῆσος* etc. And we read in the "Frogs" of Aristophanes[49] that the Dionysiac processions come to Nysa amid the swamps of the frogs. And as Dionysus usurps the honours of deities of water, so river-gods frequently bear a vine-branch to show their connection with the vine; an instance is the river Billæus (Pl. ii. 6). That a still closer connection between rivers and Dionysus could be traced if we were better acquainted with the Dionysiac mysteries, is exceedingly probable. But into this subject, of great extent, and full of uncertain shapes and vague surmises, I cannot at present enter.

Less usually rivers were represented in the forms of other animals. The river Capros, at Laodicea, appears as a boar on the coins of the city (Pl. ii. 2). This may be a mere punning allusion to the name of the river, as these coins are of a very late date, but we have reason to think that boars did sometimes typify the violence of water, especially as wild boars notoriously haunt swamps. Curiously among the

[47] Lenormant and De Witte, Elite Céramog. iii. pl. 4.

[48] G. Curtius, Griech. Etymologie, p. 319. [49] l. 215.

Slavonic peoples also we find this notion. It is recorded[50] that when a great danger threatened the Slavonic race, the genius of the lake Rhetra emerged under the form of a wild boar with terrible grunting, and again disappeared amid the waves. The form of a dog was adopted by the river Crimissus in appearing to the nymph Segesta, whence a dog constantly appears on the coins of the city which bore the nymph's name. Curiously the snake, however natural such a type might seem, and however usual in other mythologies, does not in Greek art typify rivers, except on the coins of Nicomedia, where the river Drakon is supposed to appear in this shape. But of this I have not been able to find positive proof.

The horse, as I have above mentioned, is a natural type of rivers and springs, and a type not unfamiliar to the Greek mind. Especially in those later times when springs were in some districts subordinated to Poseidon Hippius, they were spoken of as the horses of the god. The winged horse Pegasus is connected with springs in many ways, as his name would sufficiently imply. Born by the springs of Oceanus, he produces the fountain Hippocrene with a blow of his hoof, and is represented on monuments as tended by the nymphs. I think we cannot refuse to recognize that a river or spring is intended on the coins of Samosata on the Euphrates (Pl. ii. 14) by the Pegasus which springs from beneath the rock where the impersonation of the city is seated. For on other coins of Samosata, we find the swimming figure of an undoubted river-god in just the same position (cf.

[50] Karasmin, Hist. de Russie, i. 114. French translation.

the coin of Antioch ii. 16). It is probably not the great river Euphrates itself which thus appears under the form of Pegasus, but some noted spring of the locality. It is, however, difficult, in dealing with so remote and little-known a district as Commagene, to be sure that there the winged horse may not have stood for a river, as for a spring in Greece proper. We know that the Magi of Persia sacrificed horses to the rivers crossed by Xerxes.

It is far more usual to find rivers represented in human form, sometimes in the attitude of sacrifice, sometimes reclining or swimming. In the period of finest Greek art, in Sicily, Himera (Pl. i. 9), Selinus, and Hypsas (Pl. i. 10), all appear offering a libation to the deities of healing and cleansing. The presence of a cock at the sacrifice of Selinus, and a snake at that of Hypsas, sufficiently indicate that their petition is to the effect that they may be freed from stagnation and all impurity, and is directed to the gods of cleansing and purification, Apollo, Asklepius, or Herakles. On the coins of Pandosia (Pl. i. 11), Crathis is represented holding in one hand the lustral bough probably of laurel, in the other a patera, while at his feet a fish leaps. To a far later time belongs the type of the river Crysas on the coins of Assorus, where the deity bears amphora and cornucopiæ (Pl. i. 19). This may or may not be a rude copy of the statue which stood, as Cicero[51] tells us, in the temple erected to Crysas at Assorus. 'In (fano) Chrysæ est simulacrum præclare factum e marmore.' It is with some hesitation that I have added to the certain representations of river-gods a doubtful

[51] Ver. ii. 4. 96.

one. There is, however, good reason for supposing that the figure of the young hunter of the coins of Segesta (Pl. i. 12) who sometimes appears with short horns, is, as Salinas thinks,[52] no other than the river Crimissus, who was certainly venerated at Segesta. The Mount Hæmus is undoubtedly represented on coins of Nicopolis, in Mœsia, as a young hunter bearing a javelin, and a river is even more suitably pictured in this character than a mountain. The river-nymphs were some of the most ardent followers of Artemis in the chase, Arethusa being especially noted for skill with the bow.[53] Adonis, the great hunter, was connected with the Phœnician stream Adonis. And Pausanias, speaking of the Alpheius, tells a story of his having been a hunter[54] with whom Arethusa fell in love.

Before proceeding to the reclining figures, we must delay for a minute over a most charming series of symbolical representations belonging mostly to Sicily, and to the period just before 400 B.C. Foremost of these is the head of Arethusa (Pl. i. 14). The nymph here appears full face, with dolphins darting amid her flowing locks. The explanation of all this is simple and charming. The fountain of Arethusa, which was known to sink into the earth in Arcadia and supposed to rise again in Sicily, according to the well-known legend, rises in the sea close by the Syracusan island of Ortygia. There is, it is stated, room for dolphins to swim all round the fountain without leaving the salt water. We have the river Gelas represented sometimes (Pl. i. 17) as a young man

[52] Periodico di Num. e Sfrag. vol. iii.

[53] 'Et tandem positis velox Arethusa sagittis.' Georg. iv. 344.

[54] ὡς ἀνὴρ εἴη θηρευτής.

with short horn, sometimes (Pl. i. 13) as a bearded man. The fishes which swim around his head are no longer dolphins, but river-fishes. This representation, like that of Arethusa, seems to give us a picture of the deity when 'summa placidum caput extulit unda,' the 'unda' being here symbolized by means of fishes, as it usually is in Greek art except during the very early and very late periods, and not directly imitated.[55] We do, however, sometimes find a still more direct attempt to represent the water out of which the river-god's head emerges. Thus at Camarina (Pl. i. 15) we have a circle of waves round the head of the river-god Hipparis. We find on the reverse of the same coin, a line of waves over which glides (Pl. i. 16) the nymph of the lake Camarina, who, not content with showing her head only, boldly emerges from the waves riding upon a swan and spreading her veil to catch the breeze while a fish leaps up behind her. The head of a nymph at Thermæ too appears on coins as that of a goddess with short horns (Pl. i. 20.)

Further north, on the shores of the Black Sea, we find traces of a peculiar veneration paid by the Greek colonists of Olbia to the river Borysthenes whose head appears on their coins (Pl. i. 18.) This head is clearly modified in type in imitation of the physiognomy of the Scythians who inhabited the steppes of the river, and to whose physiognomy it bears a striking resemblance. The size of the Borysthenes and the quantity of fish which frequent its mouth early attracted the attention of the traders of

[55] For instances, Mr. C. T. Newton, in Ruskin's 'Stones of Venice,' note 16.

Miletus; they established a colony on the river and regarded it with the greatest respect.

All the coins on my first plate, except Nos. 5, 8, and 19, belong to the fine period of Greek art, and show how the Greeks, when at their highest point of culture and splendour, represented rivers to their imagination and hearts. It is impossible to suppose, whether we consider these monuments or the records of history, that in that period the worship of rivers had passed from the domain of faith to that of imagination and poetical licence. If we turn to history, we shall find that day by day in many parts of Greece oxen were slaughtered on the altars of rivers, and often temples erected on their banks. And in weighing the testimony of coins, we must not forget their semi-religious character in these early times. Issued originally in temples, and embodying the chief national cults, their types had a serious and religious import, nor did any man until after the time of Alexander the Great dare to put his own portrait upon them. Where we find the heads of Gelas and Borysthenes alternating with those of Apollo, Herakles, and Dionysus, on coins, and when we find Alpheius sharing the same altar as Artemis at Olympia, and classed by Pindar with the twelve great gods, we may be pretty sure that at a time when paganism was still a living religion, the cultus of rivers was pure and hearty.

We shall find no reason to modify these opinions in passing to the earliest examples of reclining river-gods,—those in the pediments of the Parthenon, the recently excavated temple of Zeus at Olympia, and other great temples of Greece. One of the deities

of the Parthenon pediment may be seen in the British Museum, and it has been disputed whether he should be called Ilissus or Cephissus, but the latter name is more probably the true one. Pausanias tells us that the Alpheius and the Cladeus both appeared in the pediment of the Olympian temple, and the excavations carried on by the German government have tended to confirm his testimony in this as in other matters. It is more than probable that the angle of temple-pediments was usually filled up with the river-god of the neighbourhood, and not at all impossible that we may here find the origin of that reclining position which in later times was the distinguishing mark of the deities of rivers in art, that position admirably suiting the tapering corner of the aëtoma. It has been supposed that river-gods were thus introduced in a topographical sense, and doubtless this is true so far that their place in the pediment bore some relation to the actual geographical position of the rivers themselves, but for reasons given above, there must have been a religious beyond the mere geographical meaning. It is with the same meaning that we constantly find in scenes represented on vases the river-nymph of the district where the action occurred assisting by her presence. This is common in the case of such subjects as the labours of Herakles, or the judgment of Paris. The presence of the river-nymph Oenone at the latter scene has been celebrated from early times to those of Tennyson.

In coins of Greek cities struck during the Roman dominion these reclining figures are very common. I will glance at some of the most important.

Laodicea, in Phrygia, was situate between the rivers Lycus and Caprus. This fact is expressed on its coins in two ways. The city, which appears under the form of a turreted female figure, bearing in her hand a simulacrum of Zeus of Laodicea, appears in the midst; and sometimes there are seen the reclining forms of the two rivers, one on each side of her, their names appended above; sometimes, in place of the anthropomorphic deities, we find the ruder symbols of a wolf and a wild boar in the same positions (cf. Pl. ii. 1 and 2). Ephesus was quite a city of rivers. We find on the coins of that place a simulacrum of the Asiatic Artemis between the reclining forms of Cayster and Cenchrius, the names of these rivers being appended, as was the case in Laodicea (Pl. ii. 3). At Ephesus, also, on other coins we find the image of the father of all rivers, Oceanus, an image with the usual attributes of the branch and cornucopiæ (Pl. ii. 4). A less ordinary representation is that of the spring Marnas, also Ephesian (Pl. ii. 5). We find here what looks like a female figure, reclining, wearing a helmet and resting her arm on a shield. This Amazonian figure may be taken to portray a warlike heroine of early times, who was supposed to have given her name to the river. It will be remembered that the city of Smyrna is always presented under the form of an Amazon, the foundress of the city; and it is well known that Nereids are frequently represented bearing arms, which the writers are perhaps in too great haste to term the arms of Achilles. It has been well remarked that the local deity of a small district lying out of the road of civilisation is usually

an armed divinity of martial type; and as the local divinity of a district is in early times very commonly the river of that district, it is not improbable *a priori* that rivers should be armed. The Crimissus is armed, though lightly (Pl. i. 12); and the fathers of so many of the valiant heroes of Homer were river-gods, that we can scarcely be surprised if the martial character of the sons sometimes appears in the sires.

The river Billæus, at Tium (Pl. ii. 6), and the Scamander at Ilium (Pl. ii. 7), are represented in the ordinary form as is the Mæander (Pl. ii. 18), at Peltæ.

The great river Ister appears on the coins of Nicopolis as a youthful horned figure, sometimes quite naked, resting his hand on the prow of a merchant ship (Pl. ii. 8), sometimes partly draped, grasping in his right hand a tree (Pl. ii. 9); but in both cases with his head turned backwards, perhaps to indicate that his sources lay in an unknown and mysterious region, though but little importance is to be attached to these speculative explanations.

These which I have mentioned are but specimens, the number of which could easily be doubled or quadrupled, of representations of the river-gods of Hellas, and especially of Asia-Minor, in a reclining attitude. Indeed, their presence in this attitude on the coins of Greek cities in Imperial times is the rule, their absence the exception: and they are not found on coins only, but also on bas-reliefs, cistæ, etc. Their attributes are conventional. Under them is usually an urn from which flows water; in their hands is a cornucopiæ, a reed, or a branch of some tree which grows profusely on their banks. Very

frequently one hand rests on a galley. They wear a himation wrapped round the loins, and covering the legs, but leaving the upper part of the body naked, and on their head is commonly a wreath of reeds. Exceptionally, as we have above seen, they hold a musical instrument, such as the lyre or the double flute.

Those who observe the close connection supposed in early times between the deity or soul of a river and the water which composed his physical frame, will understand why river-gods are represented as swimming only on late monuments. A divinity could only be conceived as swimming in his own river at a time when the victory of anthropomorphism was complete. Here we have a god *in* a river, instead of having a god *of* a river; a god, moreover, who is obliged to progress by the slow and clumsy movements with which man makes his way through the water. In this particular case we can even trace the author of the fancy. The sculptor, Eutychides, of Sicyon, making a statue of the Tyche, or Fortune of the city of Antioch, represented her as seated upon a rock, with the river Orontes springing out at her feet in the attitude of a swimmer. This original work of art is copied in a statue in the Vatican, in a silver statuette of the British Museum, on the coins of King Tigranes (Pl. ii. 10), and on the late coins of Antioch, and also imitated by many of the cities in the neighbourhood, such as Tarsus and Samosata. On the money of Hieropolis, in Cilicia, we find the river Pyramus in the same attitude; but alone, and not connected with the image of a Tyche. He bears in his hand a torch, which of all symbols is perhaps

the least appropriate to a river-god, and the appearance of which we can regard as but little better than a play upon the name Pyramus.

Old writers assert that large and navigable rivers are represented as bearded men; small but independent streams as youthful men; and rivers which empty themselves as tributaries into a larger stream, as women. The first part of this criticism does not bear investigation. The Danube, for example, a large river, if any in Europe, is represented as a beardless youth (Pl. ii. 8, 9). So are the Mæander and the Pyramus. The little stream of the Scamander, on the other hand, appears bearded (Pl. ii. 7), as do the Hypius and other streamlets of Asia-Minor. We even find the same river represented sometimes in bearded and sometimes in youthful form. Of this the Gelas is an instance (Pl. i. 13, 17). In fact, I can find no law which holds in this matter. But the part of the criticism which relates to female impersonations is somewhat better founded. It is a rare and exceptional thing for any rivers or streams to appear in female form; indeed, although the old writers quote many instances of this, I have tried in vain amid the treasures of the British Museum to find an indubitable example. But, on the other hand, it is quite an accustomed and ordinary thing for fountains and springs to be represented as women. Of this there is the well-known instance of Callirrhoë, at Athens. On the coins of Pompeiopolis, a female figure occurs in the usual attitude, and bearing the attributes of a river-god, but with the inscription ΠΗΓΗ ΣΟΥΝΙΑΣ appended (Pl. ii. 17).

But the most curious and interesting class of

nymphs who appear on monuments is that of the nymphs of hot springs. These, strangely enough, and for some reason which I have been unable to discover, appear always as a triad. On the coins of Thermæ, in Sicily, we find a set of three simulacra, doubtless the deities of the warm springs of the locality, in front of which dances Pan, whose connexion with springs is well known. An inscription[56] also found at the same city, and recording a cure wrought there, is surmounted by figures of three nymphs. The coins of Apollonia, in Epirus (Pl. ii. 13), bear the figures of three nymphs dancing hand in hand round the fire, which typifies the warmth of the springs at that place. Theocritus,[57] in describing the fate of Hylas, mentions three nymphs as concerned in it, *Εὐνίκα, καὶ Μαλίς, ἔαρ θ' ὁρόωσα Νυχεία.* Of the other nymphs, the companions of Artemis Limnaea, the playfellows of the Seilens, the dread of the belated traveller, the 'wayward ladies of the glen,'[58] I could cite many representations, had I space; but I must draw to a conclusion, referring only to two interesting bas-reliefs,[59] on the first of which three nymphs appear in company with Artemis, Silvanus, and Herakles; while in the second, Apollo and Pan appear, one on either side of three nymphs.

IV.

Few words will suffice to describe what I have termed the poetical or allegorical stage of the veneration of rivers;—of river-worship I can scarcely

[56] Boeckh, C. I. 454. [57] Id. xiii. 45. [58] Sir W. Scott, Glenfinlas.
[59] Guigniaut, 'Nouvelle Galerie Mythologique' Pl. 139.

say; for true belief in an object of worship must have departed before writers and speakers dare to take such liberty with it as is implied in the term allegorising. It is the essence of poetry to embalm and preserve to the imagination opinions and ideas which belong to a more primitive state of culture; but it does not preserve them pure and unmodified. Faith accepts only what it cannot or dare not deny, and does not modify that which is presented to it to make it more acceptable. But poetry accepts what it chooses—what it finds charming and picturesque—and modifies the arrangement of the materials presented to it according to its own ideas of symmetry. Hence the art-creations of an age to which national beliefs are food rather for fancy than the heart, are at once more varied, and more full of obvious meaning.

As pagan religion passed from the first of these stages to the second by imperceptible gradations, and, indeed, had not lost all its force until classical had given way to Christian art, it is not easy to illustrate my meaning by quotation from poet or reference to monument. But whoever compares the hollow and empty ring of Virgil's verses which describe Aristæus' appeal to his mother Cyrene with the full confidence of Homer's account of Achilles' complaints to Thetis, will readily discern the difference of which I speak. He will see how the litterateur has superseded priest and prophet. Something of the same kind may be observed in plastic art; although here it is still harder to draw a line or describe the transition in words. But let us compare the coins of Selinus with the later representations of the Tiber

and the Nile. Under the spot where Tiber reclines, in his late statues,[60] is a wolf suckling the Roman twins. Under Nile is a crocodile, at his side a hippopotamus, as may be seen on a coin of Hadrian (Pl. ii. 18); and on other monuments[61] sixteen little genii sport about him to mark the number of cubits which the river Nile should rise in flood. We have here clear indications of fancy lightly sporting with the venerable images of divinities, once most sacred to the dwellers on their banks, but now regarded, at all events by the cultivated classes, as mere names and symbols of geographical value.

But perhaps Nile and Tiber were never regarded quite as Rhine and Moselle are by the Germans of our day. In the case of these streams, belief has entirely given way to fancy, and their names represent persons only in allegory. "Camus, reverend Sire," in Milton's Lycidas, and the "Sweet Thames run softly till I end my song," of Spenser, delight us with a faint breath of past beliefs; until, last scene of all, Father Thames is excluded from all pages save those of 'Punch,' and the stone river-god has become, like Cupid and the caduceus, the barest and most vulgar of architectural decorations.

PERCY GARDNER.

[60] Such as that in the Museo Pio-Clementino.
[61] Also in the Vatican.

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N.B.—I add a note of the date of the coins in the Plates, and of the places where they were struck.

PLATE I.

1. Thurium, 5th century B.C. 2. Magnesia, 5th century B.C. 3. Selinus, 5th century B.C. 4. Neapolis, 4th century B.C. 5. Acarnania, 3rd century B.C. 6. Catana, 5th century B.C. 7. Gela, 5th century B.C. 8. Aluntium, 3rd century B.C. 9. Himera, 5th century B.C. 10. Selinus, 5th century B.C. 11. Pandosia, 5th century B.C. 12. Segesta, 5th century B.C. 13. Gela, 4th century B.C. 14. Olbia, 4th century B.C. 15 and 16. Camarina, 5th century B.C. 17. Gela, 5th century B.C. 18. Syracuse, 5th century B.C. 19. Assorus, 1st century B.C. 20 and 21. Thermæ, 4th century, B.C.

PLATE II.

1. Laodicea, Antoninus Pius. 2. Laodicea, Julia Domna. 3. [illegible]esus, Antoninus Pius. 4. Ephesus, Commodus. 5. Ephesus, [illegible]tian. 6. Tium, M. Aurelius. 7. Ilium, M. Aurelius. 8. Nico- [illegible] Macrinus. 9. Nicopolis, Julia Domna. 10. Amastris, 1st cen- [illegible].D. 11. Apamea, Hadrian. 12. Peltæ, 2nd century A.D. 13. [illegible]lonia, 3rd century B.C. 14. Samosata, Philippus. 15. Hieropolis, [illegible]d century A.D. 16. Antioch, King Tigranes. 17. Pompeiopolis, Commodus. 18. Rome, Hadrian.

Of these Plate ii. 4 is in the collection of the Bank of England. Plate ii. 1 and 12 belong to Mr. A. Lawson of Smyrna. The rest are from the National Collection.

IX.—ON THE OLD NORTHERN (ICELANDIC) LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS DRAWN FROM ICELANDIC MSS.

(Read January 26th, 1876.)

WHETHER the study of the Icelandic (Old Northern) language ever will be a popular one in England is a question we do not pretend to decide, but there is good reason to believe that its popularity among scholars will increase, now that the best dictionary in the language has emanated from the Clarendon Press. Oxford has ever been especially associated with the development of learning in this country, and her influence felt over the whole of the civilized world. It is, therefore, a significant fact in connection with northern literature that an Icelandic scholar was invited thither to take up the grand work the late Richard Cleasby commenced; and, by indefatigable industry, philological knowledge, and literary research, Gudbrand Vigfusson has brought this grand work to a more than satisfactory termination.

In the whole of the north of Europe the study of this old classical language and literature forms a branch of the University *curriculum;* and it may be interesting to Englishmen to know that the Cleasby-Vigfusson dictionary is considered at Upsala and

Lund, at Christiania and at Copenhagen, more valuable and more complete than any that has previously appeared. It is a scholarly work, and both students and Professors of northern philology and literature in Iceland and Scandinavia have many times expressed in my hearing their obligations to the scholars who have aided in its production, and to the Clarendon Press.

In America, where the study of Icelandic is making great progress, the value and importance of this work is also freely acknowledged.

Before the study of a language can become at all general, it is necessary to build up dictionaries, grammars, and syntax; because it is not every one who can travel to far-off countries in order to study *vivâ voce* their languages, literatures, or national life. Iceland, owing to her isolated position, is unique in this,—that her language, even at the present day, differs but slightly from that of the classical period in her history, seven or eight centuries ago.

Gifts of books are hailed with joy by the Icelanders; and thankful indeed were they when an announcement was made during my stay among them that Oxford had voted £100 to be expended in the purchase of books for the public library of Reykjavík. Among these books was a copy of the Cleasby-Vigfusson Icelandic Dictionary; and it is the only one in Iceland for the use of her 70,000 inhabitants.

It would be a great boon to students of old northern lore were the curators of the Clarendon Press to consider the question of re-issuing the dictionary in a curtailed and less expensive form; for it is not

every student, nor indeed every professor, who is able to expend nearly four pounds upon one work, however useful it may prove. Great thanks, however, are due to Richard Cleasby for the first idea, to Gudbrand Vigfusson, for bringing that idea forward, enlarging upon it, and devoting nearly eight years of generous toil towards its successful completion.

Englishmen, who love their language, and wish to understand the meaning of the words they use, can best do so by studying the Icelandic. A knowledge of the Old Northern language seems to be a kind of "open-sesame" to the derivations of English words; it teaches us to look deeper than the mere words themselves, and to have a firmer grasp and a more definite idea of our own mother tongue. For this reason, and from the further fact that Icelandic or Old Northern is the keystone to the Scandinavian languages, its study for Englishmen is not so unimportant as at first sight might appear.

That the study of the Old Northern language will be more taken up as time progresses, there is not the shadow of a doubt.

It is not so many years ago that Old Northern was made a compulsory subject in the Swedish and Norwegian Universities for all students intending to take either the philological or philosophical degree. At Upsala, where there are about 1600 students, the proportion of those who are making themselves acquainted with the classical language of the north is at least one-third. In Lund, the second sister-university of Sweden, the proportion is little less. There the number of students is 500, and of these about 150 are bound to take up this subject. The

university laws, emanating from the State, naturally affect Upsala and Lund, the Swedish sister-universities, in a like degree, as well as the University of Christiania; Norway, since 1814, having united herself to Sweden, although under laws and regulations of her own for the well-being and culture of the State.

At Copenhagen, the Athens of the North, there is such an intense interest in the subject, while the museum of northern antiquities has been so splendidly arranged that the grandeur and importance of the language and history of the middle ages in Scandinavia cannot be for a moment denied.

Old Northern, philologically considered in form, in few instances is older than the oldest Teutonic record, yet, in its general grammatical structure, the Gothic appears to bear a more ancient impress, although its contents are decidedly younger than the accumulated traditions in the Old Northern Eddaic mythological lore. And in judging of the antiquity of the Old Northern the mind naturally recurs to the Gothic for comparison; there is, however, but one literary relic to represent the historical races that invaded Italy, Africa, and Spain.

The comparison between Gothic and Icelandic gives this further result, that we are able to trace in the contents of the Edda songs a deeper antiquity than in the translation of the Bible by Ulphilas.[1]

But although the only Gothic relic that we possess, shows a higher grammatical development, yet it

[1] There are but two *codices* extant of this translation; one is called the Codex Argenteus, in the university library of Upsala; the other is in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

cannot at all compete with the spontaneous strength and vitality, freshness and rude vigour of the Old Northern. The comparison is purely philological; in a literary point of view, it no longer exists.

The Gothic was indebted for its scholarly development to the learning and influence of the priests and bishops who ruled over barbaric hordes; but the Old Northern language, after several centuries of development in Iceland, viz., from the days of the colonization of that island[2] to the 12th and 13th century, became the powerful exponent of a popular energy, intensity, and grand national historic life.

But why is the consideration and study of the Icelandic language so important? To fully answer this question is beyond the limits of the present paper; however, we may reply that, as the key and explanation of the linguistic faculty of the Teutonic races, it commanded the highest place in the judgment of the distinguished German philologist, Jacob Grimm. Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose theory of language calls for the deepest respect, attached great importance to the study of the Icelandic, considering it, as he does, a later development of the old Teutonic. This great philologist was teeming with ideas, but had not a popular way of expressing them; hence his theories never became generally accepted, although he is constantly consulted by the best living philologists and historians—Mommsen and Curtius and Steinthal.[3] Max Müller is right so far in endeavouring to give a more living, a more practical, aspect to the signs

[2] Iceland was colonized in the year 874 by expatriated folkkings from Norway.

[3] The eminent scholar and commentator of Wilhelm von Humboldt.

of language, though he has carried this beyond its due or legitimate boundaries; for we must not forget the words of Lord Derby, in a late political speech to the students of Edinburgh, that "there was a great talking in England some years ago of popularizing the sciences; but the broad fact remains that we may indeed popularize the *results* of science, though we cannot popularize science itself."

The Icelandic is widely separated, but still connected philologically with the most ancient of the Greek dialects—the Æolic—associated as this dialect is with Sappho, and the earliest Greek poetry. The connecting link betwixt the Æolic and the Italic vernaculars and the oldest prototypes of Teutonic speech, is the existence of the Digamma. Now, with regard to the bearing of the Old Northern language on modern English, connected as this is principally with the pre-Normanic history of England, much has been written; and it is sufficient here to refer those who wish to dig deeper into northern lore to the works of Rasmus Rask, N. M. Petersen, and Dasent's English 'Introduction to the Cleasby-Vigfusson Icelandic Dictionary' to which we have already alluded. Many passages may there be found fully supporting our high opinion of the philological influence of the Old Northern language in its bearings upon modern English. We shall have occasion to refer especially to this subsequently. To mention an important social fact, however: in the ninth century well-nigh every family in the northern counties of England, either on the father's or mother's side, were of Scandinavian extraction, according to the accounts we find in the Sagas.

As a little illustration of what power lies in the Icelander's grasp who has made himself well acquainted with his native tongue, we have it on good authority that Ulphilas, the Gothic translator of the Bible, is understood by an Icelander through the simple medium of his own language; and the same applies to his understanding of Anglo-Saxon, or Early English texts.

These Early English texts treat for the most part of religious matters, being principally translations from the Latin authors. The early English poet, Cædmon, sung in the alliterative rhyme so common to all Icelandic productions in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries; but those of Cædmon can in no way be compared to the strength, force, and energy displayed in the Edda songs.

The language of the present day in Iceland is essentially the same as in the past; but we must make allowance for the developments Icelandic scholarship has imparted to it in its own domain, without the admixture of foreign elements.

The Icelandic language expresses itself in its own strength, and assimilates to itself all foreign modes of expression. As an illustration of this, we need only mention that the Icelander does not call a cigar, a cigar, but he calls it "vindill," a formation, of course, analogous to our English verb "to wind"—"to roll a substance round"; and so on in innumerable cases. The emigrants from Iceland in modern times are called Landnáms-menn, ever reminding the Icelander of his old traditions—of his ancestors who in the same way came over the seas and settled in a new land, to wit, Iceland. Another broad illustration of the assimila-

tive intrinsic power of the language is afforded by Dr. Egilson's renowned translation of the 'Odyssey,' both in prose and verse. It is simply a *chef d'œuvre.* Goethe used to say Homer in a translation should be read in prose; but nothing could be more philologically and poetically complete than Dr. Egilson's rendering in Icelandic of this grand Homeric poem.

Milton, too, has been admirably translated into Icelandic; Pope's 'Essay on Man,' and several other of our standard works are great favourites with the Icelanders. Many of the plays of Shakspeare, too, have been translated, but only one of them, 'Macbeth,' has appeared in type. Funds are scarce in Iceland; and unless some society in this country can lend aid, 'King Lear,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' and 'Richard III.,' will have to remain in their MS. form, and naturally never be read by the Icelanders, save by those who are able to read English, or German, Danish, or Swedish translations.

With regard to what we should call this ancient language—still, it must be recollected, a living tongue in Iceland, and once spoken over the whole of Scandinavia, the Færoe Isles, the Shetlands (then called Hjaltland), the Orkneys, and the greater part of Scotland and of England—there have been and still are such hair-splittings that the seven wise men of the north came to as many different conclusions. Shall we term it Old Danish, *dönsk túnga*, Old Norse, *norræna*,[4] Old Scandinavian, Old Swedish, Icelandic, Old Northern, or as it certainly was in the days of the colonization of Iceland, when the aristocratic

[4] Norræna signifies literally "north wind"—Tháttr Eriks rauða, *vide* 'Antiquitates Americanæ,' p. 21, C. C. Rafn.

emigration in 874 left the shores of Norway—a West-Norwegian dialect of the OLD DANISH tongue?

That the language as spoken in the present day should be called Icelandic there is no doubt, but when speaking of the same language in relation to the famous period of Icelandic and Scandinavian poetry and history, we in England are safest in using the term OLD NORTHERN; and this term in reference to the language is the one that has been made use of in this paper, as you will already have observed.[5] The chief point, however, to remember is this, as, indeed, the matter of most interest to Englishmen: that before William the Conqueror took possession of the country and brought about a change in the language of England by the introduction of the Norman French, there was but one tongue spoken in England and Norway and Denmark. Corroborative evidence of this may be found in Gunnlaug Ormstunga's Saga, where it says, "King Ethelred ruled then in England. He dwelt that winter (1006) in London;" and it goes on to say: "ein var þá túnga í Englandi sem í Danmörku ok Noregi." (There was one tongue in England, as in Denmark and Norway.)

Gunnlaug, a distinguished Icelandic skáld or poet, came to King Ethelred,[6] having composed a poem in honour of the king, that he was anxious to recite. The king granted his request, and, being pleased

[5] Some English authors prefer to call it Icelandic—here they flatter the Icelanders; others, Old Norse—here they follow in the wake of Dr. Dasent; but it would be well in future not to deviate from the more general and more correct term of 'Old Northern.'

[6] Ethelred II. died 1016; and his widow, Emma of Normandy, became the wife of the wise and great King Canute, King of England and Denmark.

with the poem, gave him a reward and a place in his own bodyguard—a great honour in those times, and one well appreciated by the Icelandic skáld.

Nor had this Old Northern language become unintelligible in England even so late as the 13th century; for Olaf Hvìtaskáld, one of the most celebrated Icelandic scalds, and nephew of the distinguished statesman, poet, and historian, Snorri Sturluson, makes this remark in Knytlinga Saga: "We are of one tongue ('vèr erum einnar túngu'); although either that tongue has become greatly changed with one of us, or both have slid away from what they formerly were"—so much did the Icelandic of the latter part of the 13th century resemble the language then spoken over a considerable part of England, especially on the north-east coast. Even in the present day, the language spoken by the fisherfolk and coast peasantry in Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Durham, and in the lowlands of Scotland, among those who have not troubled themselves about book-learning, resembles in a remarkable degree the old Scandinavian tongue. When fishermen from these districts find themselves on the western coast of Denmark, among the peasant-folk and fishermen of Jutland, where the sister vocabularies of "gammel dansk" or old Danish words are still kept up, it is with comparatively little difficulty they are able to make themselves well understood. On the other hand, an English gentleman or scholar finding himself among the modern Jutes without a previous knowledge of the Danish language would entirely fail.

Further, with regard to obscure legal terms still in use in the English law-court phraseology, many of

these find their counterparts in the 'Grágás,' the ancient code of Icelandic laws framed at the beginning of the 12th century, a book that should be read by all English students-at-law. Nor does the connection between England and the High North stop here. As the language, so it may be presumed the literature of the Saxon period in England bore a strong resemblance to that of the early Icelanders; but of these purely pagan Anglo-Saxon—or as some scholars prefer to call them, Early English—writings, beyond a few fragments all have disappeared.

In the ruins of a pagan temple that once stood in the centre of the city of Verlamacester—*Verulamium*, St. Albans—a great find was brought to light in 980 A.D. It consisted of poems purely pagan, songs to the sun, prayers to Woden (Odin), invocations to the gods, and rituals of religion; but they went through a process of cremation by order of a fanatic monk. There would probably be no harm in these days of free thought, free inquiry, could we but have peeped into these treasures of literature, and learned from them what was the religion of our fathers centuries upon centuries ago, without having to turn to the Eddas of Iceland, where are carefully preserved the records of Scandinavian paganism. But the flames were ready at hand, and the bigotry of the Verlamacester monk only finds its equal in the disbelief of modern times. Extremes meet; and it is to be hoped that neither bigotry nor disbelief will henceforth rule the world. Even in pagan times, evil certainly befell the man who did not worship in some form or other the gods of his country. Ingólf, on hearing of the murder of his brother Leif, a few

years after these two expatriated folkkings had colonized Iceland, exclaimed, "Ah! this will happen to all those who fail to make sacrifices to the gods."

And I cannot refrain from quoting, though, doubtless, many of you have read them before, the following few lines from the great American thinker, Richard Emerson; because the poet-thinkers have also their place in the world as well as the men of science. His words are:

> "O when I am safe in my sylvan home
> I tread on the pride of Greece and Rome;
> And when I am stretched beneath the pines,
> Where the evening star so holy shines,
> I laugh at the lore and the pride of man,
> At the sophist schools, and the learned clan;
> For what are they all in their high conceit,
> When man in the bush with God may meet.

The belief of one age is the superstition of the next; so that there was no reason why this fanatic old monk of Verlamacester should have found the tenets of the old pagan religion too terribly dark, too richly mysterious, too exquisitely grand to be handed down to the ken of future generations. The existence of these heathen poems never could have stayed for one moment the advance of Christianity from one end of England to the other. Heathendom, or paganism, was worn out and simply died a natural death. Are the inhabitants of the North any the worse Christians for now being able to see in their Eddas and ancient battle-songs and Sagas that in times gone-by their forefathers had lived and died good, honest, healthy pagans? But in spite of the destructive bump that must have been strongly developed on the skull of

the old monk of Verlamacester, there are several fragments of early English pagan literature, and not a little that hovers between the old and the new religion, showing not a little resemblance between early English poetry and the Old Northern, as has been preserved to us in the Edda songs.

Belonging to one and the same class of composition, they have a striking similitude the one with the other in the construction of their verses, alliteration and assonance being their characteristics in common; but the early English fragments do not show that powerful, shortly-expressed, spirit-stirring sense, full of the most picture-yielding metaphor and astonishing vitality to be found in the Edda songs. Glorious old Eddas! How ye unfold the past in magic witcheries of words, pouring forth magical mysteries, realms of weirdom, and an ethical system thoughtful and profound.

But there is one thing that is always hovering over our heads, even in the present day, from those old heathen times—the names of the days of the week.

Woden, or Odin—the highest among the Asi[7]—still rules our Wednesday (Wodensdag); Freya,[8] our Friday; Sun- and Mon-day (moon-day) are the days dedicated by the old heathens to the worship of the two most prominent heavenly bodies. Thor has his day of dedication, the fifth day of the week (Thursday); Tyr held his revels on the third; but somehow or other a Roman deity seems to have

[7] Oðinn ædstr Asa. Elder Edda, Grimnismál, v. 44.

[8] Freya in the Northern Mythology is analogous, with some slight differences, to the Venus in the Southern.

sidled in at the end—Saturday, being so called from the head of the Roman godworship, Saturn. This is a curious blending of the Roman with the Scandinavian mythology on our christening list of the days of the week. It was probably arranged by some ignorant monk, who imagined, perhaps, Scandinavian mythology did not offer more than six great deities worthy of a place on the week's register. What has become of Balder?—the monks seem to have forgotten all about him; but if they needs must have slipped in a Roman god, why not, rather than to put one forward twice, have taken Mercury—"heora mæran gode"—the glorious god,—not forgotten at all in southern lands; for instance, Mercredi, Fr.; Mercoledi, Ital.; Mercurius, Lat.; and so on through the languages of the south. Saturn would have had no objection; for in an Anglo-Saxon homily of the 9th century we read that this great god thought of himself last in giving the days their names after the gods, because he was the eldest of them all.[9] This was a noble modesty on the part of Saturnus; but the old monks would not allow it to be carried out.

It is an acknowledged philological fact that the Sanskrit language, one of the richest in the world, has a striking resemblance to the Greek, to the Latin, and particularly to the Gothic. This theory of the distinguished Oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, has been

[9] Saturne þâm ealdan,
þæra goda fäder,
Him sylfum tô frôfre,
Endenexŏ svâ þeáh,
þeah þe he yldest være.—

Fragment of an Anglo-Saxon homily, British Museum, Bibl. Cotton, Julius E vii.[2].

strengthened by all those who have given themselves the trouble to examine and work out the question. Bopp, who for many years studied the Oriental languages in Paris, once said it appeared to him as though he were reading Sanskrit when he read the Gothic of Ulphilas, and this is looked upon as a blending of the old Teutonic and Scandinavian tongues.

Most of the modern languages of North and Central India are derived from Sanskrit. Tamil and the southern dialects generally, though different in origin and in structure, borrow words largely from this source. At the commencement of the century the Danes held a small territory in the southern part of India, on the Coromandel coast, where Tamil is spoken; and the Danish clergyman in the colony, Pastor Fuglesang, studied, during a residence there of twenty-five years, this subject thoroughly, and fancied he had discovered much resemblance between it and Danish. In this, however, the good pastor must have allowed his imagination to outstrip his capacity for philological research, Tamil belonging to the Dravidic family; and his contemporary, the Icelandic scholar, Finn Magnusen, accepted the views of Pastor Fuglesang, and carried the comparison still further, to Icelandic.

That the Persian language is nearly related as well with the Indian as with the Northern has been long an acknowledged truth. From the steppes of Sámir and Central Asia emigration extended to the north and west, as well as to the south and east; and to this fact, no doubt, is due—both being members of the Indo-Germanic family of languages—the likeness between Greek and Icelandic pointed out by Rask and

other reliable scholars. It is also a significant fact that not a few of the old myths of India and of Greece are also found in a slightly altered form in the mythology and traditions of the North contained in the two Eddas.

Whether Dan and Angul, two old mythic kings, be brothers, as Saxo Grammaticus tells us—the early Danish historian whose works have given subject matter to so many romance writers and poets from the 13th century to the present time, including William Shakspeare and Sir Walter Scott,—is of comparatively little importance, but this statement of Saxo's seems to point far back down the long time-roll of the two nations, Denmark and England, to a connection that, at different intervals, has been maintained and is not lost even at the present day.

Nor can there be the shadow of a doubt but that the study of the Old Northern language and literature by Englishmen will, year by year, become more and more entered into and appreciated, as its value is made known, and the important connecting links between England and the High North more frequently pointed out, especially during that period preceding the Norman conquest, a period forming one of the most interesting in English history, viz., from the days of Egbert to the death of Harold at Hastings.

In Knytlinga Saga, in Egils-saga, Orkneyinga Saga, there are many pages of the highest historical importance to England; and there is also this peculiarity about the Icelandic writings, they are seldom dull. Their very simplicity makes them effective. They abound in spirit-stirring scenes, full of life and action, and are far more vigorous and dramatic in their style

and composition than any of the Anglo-Saxon records we possess. To compare the song of Beowulf with the Edda songs, is to see at once where the charms of the latter lie, not only in the form of verse, but in its freshness and poetic force; in fact, the illustrative power being in the words, they conjure up pictures, one after the other, of the grand old pagan mythological life, they embody an entire system of ethics, and afford a deep insight into the secrets of the human breast—the passions,—love, hate, revenge, etc.

For a long time it was supposed that Sæmundur Froði—Sæmundur the learned—a priest, and one of Iceland's most distinguished scholars, had collected together during his wanderings in Europe the Edda songs; some even went so far as to say that Sæmundur Sigfusson was the actual author of the Elder Edda. But these ideas have been satisfactorily proved incorrect by comparatively recent Scandinavian critics, who negative the idea that Sæmundur had anything whatever to do with the Elder Edda. Brynjulf Sveinsson, Bishop of the Icelandic see of Skálholt,[10] hit upon this codex of the Elder Edda in 1643, ordered a transcript to be made, and sent the original to Frederick III., King of Denmark, a great patron of learning in those days. Although Denmark is a small State, it has been ruled by many wise and far-seeing kings. Frederick III. was one of these. By the aid of Bishop Sveinsson, Torfæus, and other scholars of the time, the nucleus of the grand collection of MSS. and rare books in the royal library of Copenhagen was formed. At the expense of the state scholars were sent out far and wide to inquire into the condition of learn-

[10] Skálholt and Hólum were the two ancient bishoprics in Iceland.

ing in different parts of Europe, to make themselves acquainted with the foreign libraries, so far as to be able to say what they contained, and to acquire MSS. and rare books with moneys the king provided from his own privy purse. In his northern dependency Iceland Frederick III. took particular interest. Sveinsson, of Skálholt, and Torfæus stood high in royal favour. The former, before presenting his newly-discovered codex of the Elder Edda to the king, felt bound to christen it with a grand name; and as learning was fashionable at the court of Frederick III., Bishop Sveinsson hit upon the name of Sæmundur, Sæmundur Sigfusson, commonly called Sæmundur Froði, or the learned, he having been considered the most erudite Icelander a the time when the Eddas were supposed to have been first written down. In this way, then, the Codex Regius came to be called Sæmundar Edda hins Froða. This codex, although the earliest extant of the Elder Edda, is from the latter part of the 13th century. Towards the end of the 11th century the turbulent spirit of the Icelanders had somewhat subsided, and a fashion set in for learning, and schools came to be established. In 1076 we find Sæmundur in Paris, for there he was met by his fellow-countryman, Jón Ogmundsson,[11] and persuaded to return to his native land. Sæmundur founded the first learned school in Iceland, at a place called Oddi, in the south-western part of the island, and there he died in 1133. This was the commencement of the brilliant literary epoch in Icelandic history inaugurated by Ari Fróði, the father of Icelandic historiographers; and after Sæmundur's death the school at

[11] Jón Ogmundsson became Bishop of Hólum, A.D. 1105.

Oddi was carried on by his son Loptr, whose son again, Jón Loptsson, was preceptor at the school up to the year 1197 A.D., when he died. It was here at Oddi that the famous Icelandic scald, statesman, and historian, Snorri Sturluson, spent his early days. He was brought up under the care of the learned Jón Loptsson from his third to his nineteenth year.

But though it has satisfactorily been proved that Sæmundur Froði can no longer be connected with the Elder Edda, yet he was probably the author of the glorious poem entitled 'Sólar-ljóð,' or the 'Song of the Sun.' This belongs to Christian times.

When all the monastic world was covering parchments with the Latin tongue, it is a curious fact that the Icelanders should have adopted their own vernacular; but so it was, and it is this peculiarity that gives to Icelandic literature a double importance. More than once the Anglo-Saxons have been called the schoolmasters of the Icelanders; *i.e.*, the Icelanders were able to take from them the idea of writing down their records in the vernacular that, by the 11th and 12th centuries, when writing in the Latin character was first introduced into Iceland, had assumed a high state of development, and afforded a far better medium than the Latin for the narration of events connected with their active and adventure-loving national life. There is this difference, however, between the Early English and the Icelandic literature; the former has been destroyed—eaten by time, burned by fanatic monks, or trodden under foot by ransackers of convents; but above all, it was nipped in the bud by the early introduction of Christianity, and with it the exclusive use of the Latin

tongue; the latter, owing to the far-off solitary geographical position of Iceland and the introduction of Christianity some centuries later, took a wider and a purer development. Moreover, what was written down came to be wonderfully taken care of by the priest-farmers and the peasant-farmers, who have always had a great love for reading and for books.

There were unusual opportunities for creating a grand literature in Iceland in early feudal times. Her warriors were serving in the Varangian guard of the Byzantine emperors, her vikings scouring the seas, and her poets, or *skálds*, finding a welcome at many of the European courts. What a rich field then for a grand literature! especially when we remember that nothing yet had been written down in the Northern lands. There was something new in taking up a pen and recording events on the prepared skins of their sheep, and thus preserving far more durably events that hitherto had been handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. It was for their better recollection that they originally had been put into a poetic form; and, in order that nothing should be added to or taken away, a Saga-teller who drew the long bow was soon put out of court; on the other hand, he who recited the Edda songs and Sagas faithfully, acquired a high reputation, and was honoured with a foremost place at their feasts.

In conclusion, let us hear the opinion of Rasmus Rask, one of the most distinguished philologists of modern times, and then stop to think for a moment whether the study of the Old Northern language is a thing to be desired—whether a "chair" should

not be set up at our sister universities, and whether a knowledge of Old Northern History and Literature might not with advantage be introduced even into our schools.

"As long as I live," writes Rask, to his friend Hansen in 1805, "shall it be my comfort and my joy to know this language, and to see in its writings how our forefathers have borne sufferings, and bravely overcome them." It was the pride of the Northern spirit to meet trouble face to face, to believe in his own strength (trúa á mátt sinn og megin),and if conquered, to die the death of a brave, with weapon in hand, defying the foe. Rask goes on to say: "You may believe in the beginning I was astonished to find our forefathers should have so rich a language, and that we, with whom I think the sciences have progressed wonderfully, had one far less rich. It strengthens, however, the old saying—*οἱ παλαῖοι ἄμεινονες ἦσαν ὑμῶν.*" And, in a subsequent letter, about the same time (1805) he adds, it is not to learn statesmancraft or the art of war and the like that he has set himself with such ardour to the study of the OLD NORTHERN, but in order the better to understand the worthiness of man; to develope his own powers of thought, and to gain a freedom for his soul by bringing it to brave dangers, to leave rather the body than to change principles, the truth and worthiness of which he had once become fully convinced." [12]

From 1813–15 Rask travelled through Iceland, and on his return addressed a letter to the Antiquarian British Public, wherein the following paragraph appeared: "The Anglo-Saxon—the chief source of both

[12] Rask's 'Samlede Afhandlinger,' vol. i. p. 7.

English and Scotch—is now so difficult and confused, owing to the constant raids of the ancient Scandinavians, and so nearly related to the Old Northern, that if I may believe by my own experience in the compilation of a new Anglo-Saxon grammar, I imagine the Anglo-Saxon will never be sufficiently extricated but through perpetual succour from the Icelandic;" and this testimony, added to the already mentioned points of connection, as well as the opinion expressed by our most able Early English scholars, that nearly three-fourths of the words now in use in England come to us from the period preceding the Normanic invasion, seem to show sufficient ground for the awakening of a general interest between the scholars in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the classical language and literature of the High North.

"C'est du Nord aujourdhui d'où nous vient la lumiére," said Voltaire, more than a century ago, and who will deny but that this is true even at the present day?

G. Browning.

X.—HANS SACHS, AS POET AND REFORMER.

(Read February 23rd, 1876.)

We possess not less than 170 entries under the name of Hans Sachs in the catalogue of the British Museum, and yet, like Chaucer, the immortal Hans Sachs lives more in seclusion on bookshelves than in the consciousness of men's minds. But poets and their works, written under certain religious, political, and social influences, are not only interesting from a literary point of view, but they enable us to obtain an insight into the secret and slowly progressive development of humanity at large. The works of art of past ages are in many instances more reliable documents from which to gather a thorough knowledge of the customs and manners of a certain period than chronicles, State papers or biographical notes. The individual hero, ruler, pope, bishop, king, duke, knight, or soldier often represents only his particular character, the influences under which he was brought up, the impressions which he was capable of absorbing and assimilating with his own particular individuality; but the poet reflects the whole inner life of his times. What is specialized in the single hero, becomes generalized in the poet, who in a few lines condenses the thoughts and deeds of ages.

With no nation of the world was poetry so true a mirror of the innermost spiritual life as with the Teutons. Tacitus already tells us that the Teutons went to

their most sanguinary battles, singing poems of heroic excitement. The Indians had their Ramâyana and Mahabhârata, the Greeks their Iliad and Odyssey, and these people formed their whole national after-life on these admirable songs of the past, living a life of bygone times.

Not so the Teutons. Their poems grow with them, they reflect the never-ceasing progressive historical development of the nation. They begin with the Hildebrand song, which is still pervaded with heathenish thoughts; they become Christians and send into the world their "gospel harmonies." They begin to learn Latin from their monks and priests, and sing their popular songs in Latin, though not in the language of Virgil or Cicero. They then grow fanatic Christians, and show their fervour for the newly-acquired faith by writing the "Five books of Moses," the "Praise of Solomon," "the Gospels," the "Heavenly Jerusalem," the "Life of Jesus, by Mrs. Ava," "Judith," the "Life of John the Baptist," in so many epic poems. In no country did Christianity serve poetry, as so inexhaustible a source, as in Germany.

But a spirit of opposition, I may call it, a lay-spirit of common sense and deep morality, began to show itself in an epic poem that had instead of Achilles, a fox, instead of Agamemnon, a lion for its heroes; this was the witty and satirical epic fable "Reinhart Fuchs," written about the middle of the 12th century in Latin. In this, humanity is represented in all its yearnings, passions, short-comings and social relations from a general not particular, a *humane* and not *sectarian* point of view. To teach the deepest moral

truths in the garb of fable, was a custom which the Aryans practised on the Ganges, the Oxus, the Ilissus, the Danube, the Elbe, the Weser and the Rhine. "Reinhart the Fox" was cutting, but it was originally written in a language only understood by the priests, and did not, therefore, acquire till a later period, when translated into German, an influence on the masses.

Long before this the Teutons sought happiness, mental and bodily activity, in the Crusades, during which poetry was not silenced. In innumerable legends, written in rhymes on the Virgin Mary and St. Veronica, on St. Servatius, and St. Anno, St. Bonus and St. Ulrich, Pilate and St. Brandan, poetry excited the masses to wander towards the east to extirpate the unbelievers and to reconquer the birthplace of Christ. Scarcely had the grand tidal wave of religious fanaticism subsided, when, from a corner of the distant west, a half-forgotten branch of the mighty Aryan family inspired the Germans on the continent with new ideas. The bards of Wales with their songs of the "Round table" and their legends of Arthur, and of fairies, dwarfs, supernatural potions, enchanted woods and miraculous springs, giants and wizards, began to furnish fuel to the imagination of poets, inducing better manners and fostering the inborn love and admiration for women as the gentler sex, but, at the same time, as the completing element of man's earthly existence. To live, to love, to sigh for a chosen goddess, to fight for her, to risk property and position, limbs and life, became the duty of the chivalrous Teutons. We step into the period which was represented in Greece

by Simonides and Anacreon, namely, the lyric period of Germany.

The "Minnesängers" — not one Anacreon, or one Pindar, but a whole army of them, sung their songs and odes. It was the German nation as a whole that passed through its phase of lyric excitement. A sighing and rhyming, a heroic daring and risking, a melancholy groaning and moaning resounded through all the castles, churches, towns, villages, woods, plains and heights, ending in the half-epic and half-lyric poems, the "Nibelungen" and the "Kudrun." Hartmann von Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Gottfried von Strassburg followed with their works. Tournaments, fights, dinners, drinking-feasts, quarrels, fairies, intrigues, self-sacrifice, a longing for the supernatural, unbounded asceticism and heavenly virtue form the topics of this chivalrous poetry, in which high-born knights, dukes, counts, and kings are the only heroes, and men of lesser birth do not appear to exist. Every syllable in these poems is a clash of swords, the tramping of horses, the echo of the empty talk of noble ladies and gentlemen. Fancy-wrought beings of some fairy-world move in them, reality loses itself altogether, and the world appears only to be created for tender noble ladies with flaxen tresses and pale cheeks, and for longing poor or rich noble knights, who fall in love with the daughters of kings and dukes, and gain them by slaying their noble rivals, or fetching some hidden treasures, or miserably perish in their vain but noble attempts.

There is abundant vigour and excitement in all this. The virtuous are rewarded, or find comfort in their

melancholy wretchedness. There are dark-eyed sirens, who have honey on their lips and hatred in their hearts, who make as much mischief as only ladies can make, when they woo, instead of being wooed; and there are sad complaints about the dying out of pure love, and of knights and maidens with heroic feelings. A reaction from this idealistic poetry of sighs in armour took place, first, in didactic poems, trying to put an end to mere tournaments and knights with swords, spurs and spears; leading as this did to a kind of *mundane* poetry, at the head of which we find Gottfried of Hohenlohe, whose works are unhappily lost. But we possess in Henry von dem Türlein's work, written in not less than 30,000 verses, a striking specimen of this glowing poetry suddenly superseded by religious poems which preached humility, forbearance, obedience and self-abnegation. Allegories, symbols, mystic incomprehensibilities, abounded in them, and reached in a work "On the sufferings of Christ" (Passionale), written in 100,000 verses, the culminating point of religious poetical ecstacy. Relics and their influences, apparitions and spectral visions, incredible miracles and their indubitable reality, swayed alike the poets and their readers.

Literature is full of mystic incongruities, and now turned suddenly to chivalrous attempts to once more free love and courage from the clouds of incense, the dim light of candles, and the monotonous chants of litanies. A mock science, fostered by astrologers, necromancers, alchemists and scholastic mountebanks, appeared in Teuton history. The philosophers read in the stars the fate of mankind; they pretended to converse with the arch-enemy of humanity in

"propria persona." They turned lead into gold; brewed mixtures which would give eternal beauty and life, and then produced hail, storms, wind, and sunshine at their pleasure by mere algebraic calculations.

In the midst of this 'Tohubohu' resounded the songs of the poets of Wolfram's school, in well-turned proverbs, epic songs of great pretension and deep mysticism, till the poets condescended to come down from the heights of the supernatural, and began to compose rhymed chronicles, which again engendered mighty national epic poems, containing the faint echoes of a past grandeur. Finally everything lost itself in the mire of a noisy, tumultuous, voluptuous, and moonshiny court-poetry; fawning, flattering, cajoling the enthroned imperial power, the mighty princes, dukes, and counts, fading away in sickly allegories, and weak effusions in rhymes on death, and love.

In the meantime the castles crumbled into the dust; towns arose with imperial privileges; spears began to be obsolete; guns were used; the iron coats were exchanged for dresses of cloth, velvet, and silk; helmets and their plumes gave way to embroidered caps and felt-hats. Industrious citizens took the place of banquetting knights, who either had to serve for a pittance any master who could pay best, or to starve, to beg, or to plunder the peaceful citizens on highways. The Titurels, Tristans, Percivals, Rolands, Tancreds, and Bohemunds of old, were degraded to vulgar thieves and highwaymen, despised by the industrious and hardworking townsmen. The monks of old, who kept up learning, had been long ago changed into

wealthy idlers, or busy traders in the remission of sins; or wandering and begging songsters of depraved ditties, amusing the people in taverns with anecdotes collected from old legends, picked up in the musty dining rooms of cloisters, or fetched from the depths of damp crypts and haunted castles. Symbolism prevailed, the meaningless ruled; little sacred tricks astonished, and, above all, impoverished the masses. Religion became a sordid trade, as philosophy with the sophists of old; the most sacred aspirations of humanity turning into curses, so soon as they are degraded to marketable articles. Supernaturalism and sensualism joined hands to stupify and demoralize the Teutons; but there was always a fund of honesty left in them,—some men were always ready to heap the deepest contempt on nonsense and vice, and such men found a willing ear, not always with the upper classes, but with the millions of the people. This is the reason why the middle classes, the 'burgers,' citizens and townsmen of Germany have from time immemorial played so prominent a part in religion, politics, sciences, and arts, that they may be justly compared to the inhabitants of the towns of mediæval Italy, though it is now a known fact that the spirit prevalent in these towns of Upper Italy, in Florence and Umbria, was far more Teutonic than many Italian particularists would like to admit.

Among the German towns of the XVth and XVIth Centuries, Nuremberg stood foremost in artistic and poetical activity. Whatever happened in those times in which Europe underwent a new spiritual regeneration, powerfully reacted on the minds of the citizens of Nuremberg, which formed a centre between the stream

of progress from west to east, and south to north: the lines of this movement crossed here. Nuremberg has been praised for its industry and wealth by Rosenblut, extolled and described, since Æneas Sylvius, by every writer, chronicler, rhymster, and scribbler. It was at Nuremberg that the first terrestrial globe was made by Martin Behaim, to prove the rotundity[1] of the earth; in mechanics, carving, painting, printing, engraving—even Italy had to learn, and did learn, from the masters of that then celebrated town, the abode of Albert Durer. For not less than a whole century, from Rosenblut to Folz, Hans Sachs and Ayrer, Nuremberg was the centre and principal school of the 'mastersingers' and dramatic poets of Germany. A town, in which Regiomontanus (J. Müller), the great mathematician; Celtes, who vied with Reuchlin and Erasmus in classical learning; Visher, the spirited modellist; Albrecht Durer, the painter and wood engraver; Pirkheimer, the wealthy and powerful protector of sciences and arts; and at last Hans Sachs, the poet, lived, worked, spoke, wrote, acted, painted, modelled, and, with unanimous efforts, pushed forward the wheel of progress, must have been during the period of the reformation an abode of the greatest interest.

The mediæval times of bigotry and credulity, of religious despotism and intolerance, were to be buried. The poetry of the Germans, which we have traced from its attempts at war songs, through its different phases, had always more or less a religious colouring in its epic, lyric or dramatic forms. Sentimentality and wit, satire and piety, Christian simplicity, priestly

[1] I am not quite sure about the "globe"—but he invented in 1480 the Astrolabe which proved of great service to Vasco de Gama.

pretension, idealistic dreams and matter-of-fact realism, vulgar jokes and earnest strivings, vied with one another and wrestled for the dominion in Europe. The people with their more advanced ideas were the victors in Germany. They opposed an invincible power of mockery to the hypocritical incomprehensibilities of the priesthood. The real, practical, and sensible triumphed over the ideal, abstract, and nonsensical; honest, unequivocal morals over diplomatic refinement and priestly ambiguity. The old court-poetry died away, and the poets had to turn to more homely topics. A natural mode of thinking was substituted for the senseless vagaries of Platonism.

The mystic and sophistic scholasticism had to yield to a rational mode of inductive philosophy. Heroes and saints fell in value, and man, with his natural rights, was to take possession of power. The hordes of Egyptian, Indian, Persian, Greek and Roman gods and goddesses in the garb of Christian saints and gods, began to make room for a purer conception of God the Father, who was no more to be worshipped with burning incense, as the Babylonians did and the Buddhists still do. No more ribald ceremonies, vulgar processions, and a low, degrading '*culte*,' borrowed from the Eleusinian mysteries and the Roman festivities of Lupercus, the Arcadian Pan, and the Indian Krishna, were to be tolerated. The sensational in the Christian faith was to be superseded by a worship based on pure morals and strict reason. In fact, for the first time in man's history since the bygone poetical episode of the Greeks, who established man in his beautiful outer form, man was to be instituted in his spiritual rights, and to be again a free agent

in a free world of thoughts. When such a change takes place in the life of a nation, we must not be astonished that roughness and intolerance sway the minds of those who are eager to press onwards, and to strike home at the old abuses, and that they often in their zeal transgressed the boundaries of good manners and polite bearing.

To counteract these excesses, the poets of Nuremberg, belonging exclusively to the industrial classes, instituted as early as 1493, guilds for poets, who had to compose according to prescribed rules their lyric or epic poems, and their religous songs. Poetry was treated in the same way as bootmaking or trouser-cutting. Rules, quantities, the number of syllables were prescribed, and the song (the *bar*, the word still used with us in music) had to be measured by the yard like ribbons, or home-spun linen. The poets had not only to write the poem, but at the same time to set it to music; the tunes were also regulated according to the form of the poem. The "short tune" had to consist of 13 rhymes; the "silver tune" of 20; the "proverbial tune" of 20; the "rose-tune song" of 20; the "sounding tune" of 20 or 21; the "golden tune" of 22; the "approved tune" of 22; the "new tune" of 25; the "morning song" of 27; the "bad protracted tune" of 34; the "sing-song" (Gesangweis) of 20 or 25; the "superhigh mountain song" of 40; the "superlong tune" of 63, and the "high day-song" of 23. These were the 14 most usual forms in which the "Meistersängers" had to work. The rhymes were either pure or "equivoca;" too many of the latter were not allowed. Whatever we may say, it is to

the immortal credit of the German shoemakers, tinkers, tailors, hosiers, goldsmiths, and cobblers, that they spent their evenings after a hard day's work in cultivating music and poetry. It cannot be denied that poetry does not grow out of mathematical forms or arithmetical regulations, but, in a country where every one thinks he can do as he likes, where an ill-regulated individual originality often produces nothing but caricatures and monstrosities, such regulations might produce, at a certain stage of a nation's development, a salutary effect. That this was the case, we may learn in studying the works of Hans Sachs, the "master of the meistersängers" of his times. There was, after all, abundant scope left for a genius like that of Hans Sachs to develope. Neither the severity of the "Markers" (Merker), nor the formidable regularity of the "Register" (Tabulatur), kept in the sense of the first 12 mastersingers under Otto the Great; nor the duty to write, like Pindar, strophes and anti-strophes, could prevent Hans Sachs from taking part in the free movement of his times, becoming one of the mightiest instruments of the Reformation, in spheres where neither Hutten's political essays, nor Luther's sermons could have worked so efficaciously as the correctly turned verses of our poet.

Hans Sachs according to his own biography was born in 1494, on the 5th November; and christened on the same day, as the plague was still carrying off many a victim. His father was a tailor. When our Hans was seven years old, he was sent to school to learn Latin. This was nearly 300 years before we have thought it necessary to legislate for the freer educa-

tion of the neglected children of our people. According to his own confession, he learned "Puerilia" (trifles) "Grammatica" and "Musica," all of which he forgot very soon. But still his early training never lost its salutary influence on his mind. He was apprenticed when 15 years old, to an honourable shoemaker, and then travelled about, visiting town after town, making himself acquainted with the people of Passau, Braunau, Salzburg, Munich, Frankfurt, Strassburg, Mayence, Coblentz, Cologne, and Aix la Chapelle; traversing Bavaria, Franconia, and the Rhine, even so far as Lubeck. The Teutons, like the ancient Greeks, always had a love for provincial particularism; and, through this very individualism, became even more cosmopolitan in their views and feelings. They will kindly say, "he cannot help being rude, he is a Bavarian," and will tolerate any amount of coarse jokes on account of his being a Frank, or any amount of haughtiness because he is a Pomeranian or Brandenburger. They practice the same forbearance towards the Welsh (meaning the Italians and French); and with regard to the English, they look upon them as their own kith and kin. They are large-hearted, because they were brought up in such narrow circles, and had continually to remind one another that "hinterm Berg wohnen auch Menschen," "human beings also dwell even beyond our mountains."

As with the Greeks, so with the Teutons, provincial particularism led to a higher appreciation of mankind, and the dynamic force of intellect drove them to expand intellectually; and often the more so, the greater the oppressive pettiness of

their provincial circles. The same feeling drove Hans Sachs from Nuremberg to seek information all over Germany. Everywhere he saw vulgarity, meanness, drunkenness, and licentiousness among the once chivalrous upper classes, whilst he found in the lower and middle classes an inexhaustible source of humour and forbearance, for they tried to laugh away their misery. The priests he found christening, confirming, confessing, forgiving, marrying, and burying, for cash, the people having to pay for grace in every shape and form. The ecclesiastical and imperial courts were full of plaintiffs and defendants, both being equally fleeced. Excommunications, taxes, wars, robbing orphans and widows, seemed to him everyday occurrences. In fact society was one great association established to live on the stupidity, ignorance, and prejudices of the masses.

Hans Sachs entered the school of meistersängers with the firm intention of reforming humanity as a poet. He saw Luther trying the same on the field of theology, Ulrich von Hutten on the field of politics, and he chose the unbounded realm of poetry. His first master in the honourable art of rhyming was Leonhard Nunnenbeck (not Bunnenbeck), a respectable weaver by profession, and a clever rhymster by vocation. In 1514 Hans Sachs became assistant master in a poetical school, and devoted himself with all his energy to ennobling poetry. That he was an extremely prolific genius may be concluded from the fact that his writings were published in 34 folio volumes, and that he composed about 6636 separate poetical works, among which are not less than 208 tragedies, comedies, farces, and pantomimes. Hans

Sachs classified his dramatic compositions into lay tragedies and comedies, and spiritual or rather religious tragedies and comedies. Not less than 45 of the greatest writers of antiquity and his own times are referred to and commented upon, used, quoted and transcribed in his works. Among these are Homer, Hesiod, Æsop, Sokrates, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Theophrastus, Plutarch, Lucian, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Livy, Ovid, Pliny, Seneca, Josephus, Suetonius, Justinus, Macrobius, Eusebius, Reuchlin, Erasmus, Petrarch, Agricola, Boccaccio, etc.

Besides these writers, whose works were at that period translated into German with eager haste for the first time, and read by old and young, he went with care through the Papal, French, Burgundian, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Lombard, Saxon, and Hungarian chronicles, and was thoroughly acquainted with the Bible and the Koran. Most of his MSS. are in the Royal Library at Dresden, at Zwickau (in Saxony), and Leipzig. At Dresden there are 24 MSS. of the master poets, Nos. 5–12, 16, 17, 18. Eleven large folios, to which must be added 92–100, 109, and 118; eleven other volumes in 4to, all works of the "Meistersängers" of the 16th and 17th centuries. Some of these are by Hans Sachs, according to the great philologian, J. Ch. Adelung (Königsberg, 1799). Jacob Grimm (Göttingen, 1811), does not refer to these treasures, and, apparently, had never seen them. He simply draws a distinction between "Minnesängers" and "Meistersängers." Karl Falkstein (Dresden, 1839) dismisses these MSS. as obsolete and without anything praiseworthy in them. Robert Naumann (Dresden, 1843) describes nine of these MSS. with

the dryness of a registrar. Karl Gödeke (Dresden, 1870) mentions only three as written by Hans Sachs, though there are seven of them. Most of the MSS. of Hans Sachs are in the Town Library of Zwickau, where bibliophilists will find the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 12th, 13th, and 15th books of his mastersongs, and the 4th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 18th book of his proverbs: "Spruchgedichte;" the 9th and 10th Books of his Proverbs are in the Town Library at Leipzig; one of his original MS. is said to be in the hands of a potter at Zwickau, and the 6th Book of the "Spruchgedichte," was, as late as 1871, still in the possession of Herr O. A. Schulze, a bookseller at Leipzig, who offered the copy for 1000 Thalers (£150).

Under one of his portraits we have the following inscription:

Zu Nürnberg bracht ich für manch Gticht
  Die auf poetisch seint zugricht
Zu spiln, singen und zu lesen
  Von geistlichen und weltlichen Wesen,
Doch alles Deutzsch lustig und schon
  Es hats ihm keiner gleic gethon.

He here says he has written on religious and lay matters, but always in German, and always in a merry and beautiful form. There is great truth in this statement. In England we had our religious songs; Scotland produced her gloomy ballads; the Danes and Scandinavians sang love and murder; the Italians and Spaniards possessed charming love-songs full of melancholy forebodings of jealousy and death; but in Germany there runs through all the poetry of the people a vein of humorous universa lism,

which is only found amongst the Teutons. When the poet sings in rhymes—"That birds have little goitres, and can sing; but that his cousin has a big goitre—but she cannot sing at all," he is sarcastic; but we cannot help laughing at the simile. So it is with the writings of Hans Sachs—he is earnest, but at the same time, kind and sentimental. Sometimes he is very angry with monks and priests, but there is always a smile on his lips, and often a tear of grief glitters in his eyes. A deep subjective feeling lends a peculiar charm to all he wrote. He saw in Luther, not the thundering reformer, knocking at the gates of popery, and demanding unconditional surrender—but a nightingale[2] greeting the new morn, spreading a reddish glow through the dark clouds of superstition. He wished to see the new Romish Jerusalem destroyed,—but built up amidst a rainbow of reconciliation and love[3]; he complains of the degeneration of all classes of society in a song of the nine muses, bewailing the downfall of art in Germany[4].

He above all extols all those qualities which have been praised in the Germans by Tacitus; simple manners, contentment, purity of family life and conjugal faith, and contrasts these fundamental virtues with the heathenish sensualism of the so-called humanists, and the feasting and idling monks; he tries to break through the narrowing fetters of guilds, the selfishness of the different classes,

[2] Die Wittenberg'she Nachtigall (1523).

[3] Die Zerstörung Hierusalem. Im langen Regenbogen zu singen (1550 (?)).

[4] Klage. Die verjagten Friedsklagrecht uber alle Stendt der Welt. Mehr ein Klagrecht der neun Musen oder Kunst uber Teutschland (1550).

and proclaims as the basis of sound politics, municipal institutions and freedom in religious matters. He introduces to us seven women complaining of their drinking, idling, and feasting husbands,—gives us a dialogue between seven men, who, in their turn, abuse their priest-ridden, flighty, and gossipping wives. Truth is to him a lady who had pitifully vanished from the world, and Mrs. Faithfulness is dead and buried. He makes Lucretia, Thisbe, and Virginia, three heathen ladies, remark that humanity in spite of priests and monks had not much altered. Wine and water are personified, and enter into a "fighting dialogue" about their mutual merits. Theology is represented as despairingly tortured, and the Gospel weeps over its own commentators, who have commented so much into it, that all real and genuine Christianity has been commented out of it.

He warns the Germans against sects and sectarians, who are but "mouth-christians, Romanists and sham-religionists—who are capable of driving him out of his own country." He works this theme further out in a poem in which God the Father is introduced, complaining that His vineyard has been laid waste through dogmas and laws by man, and that men have grown abominably wicked, as may be seen from the fact that the devil will not admit "Landsknechts" any more into hell, as that place is much too good for them, and they are much too bad even for that burning abode. He is sometimes especially bitter against the Roman Empire. He assembles the Gods in heaven to discuss the political state of Germany; but the dissension does not end, notwithstanding the Diet. Mars advises resort to fire and

sword; Juno wishes to satisfy the princes with money; Pluto dissuades them from employing this means. Misery and poverty are counselled, but given up as rather dangerous. Mercury advises rhetoric, Phœbus is ready to enlighten the blind, and Minerva is for the commonwealth—the "respublica," but Mercury cannot find her anywhere. Luna saw her once at Athens, but now she is sick and lame, and Æsculapius has first to try to cure her in some way or another. Hans Sachs often wearies because he writes for the sake of rhyming, or rather he cannot help writing, and writing is with him rhyming. He is at his best in his farces; these abound in terse and excellent hits, and sentiments full of practical sense. He has a play in which the learned son of a miller brings home to his father a "corpus juris," with commentaries, which the father quietly cuts off with a hatchet, so as to save simplicity in the administration of justice. In state and church he complains, that man has nothing to do but to digest decrees, bulls, syllabuses, Clementins, extravagances, statutes, constitutions, synods, customs, enactments, impositions, commentaries, and explanations; so that one could neither understand God's simple laws, nor the principles of justice.

Hans Sachs, exactly 300 years ago, saw what oppressed humanity, and reduced all the evils to the verbosity of lawyers and lawgivers, of monks and priests, and the vanity of citizens who always wanted to live above their means. He saw the world going to perdition, but he still hoped for the best, when suddenly the devil appeared before him, trying to find workmen for the enlargement of the

infernal regions. Hans Sachs told him to leave off, as everything would eventually turn out for the best. The devil was willing to believe him, if he could find ten honest witnesses to confirm his assertion with an oath; these ten men the poor poet, in spite of his efforts, could not produce. Hans Sachs was the humanitarian teacher of the German people; he took the best ideas of the ancient classics, and made their greatest thoughts household words in the mouths of the citizens. Hans Sachs changed the heavy golden wisdom of a Socrates or Seneca into small vernacular coin, and scattered it among the masses. What the colleges and universities could not do with great pains, the poetical shoemaker accomplished in easy rhymes; he aroused in the German people a love of classic refinement and morality, which served more than even Luther's theology or Hutten's diatribes, to promote real civilisation.

Hans Sachs was a bright and shining morning star, foreboding the bright daylight of our modern times; he was more genial and original than Chaucer, by far more talented than Marot, and more poetical and natural than either. Stars shine only when there is night. Since the times of Hans Sachs the Germans have been walking in the broad daylight of an uninterrupted progressive development in sciences and arts. The growth is continuous, the stream broadens day by day, for the Germans are not only acquainted with their own poets, but also with the poets, writers, and thinkers of all other nations; nothing is alien or unimportant to them; they appreciate Shakespeare and Voltaire, Lope de Vega and Darwin, Motley

and Tasso; they learnt 300 years ago to be free in the realms of thoughts, and Hans Sachs was one of their most successful teachers. It was the shoemaker of Nuremberg who founded in Germany that "universalism," which is the most distinguishing feature of Teutonic literature. I do not exaggerate when I say, that there exist no works of any great writer of any nation, worth reading, which are not translated into good German, whether such works be Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Zend, Persian, Arabic, Russian, Hungarian, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Swedish, Danish, etc. Not one work of any nation, whether that of poet, philosopher, physicist, historian, novelist, or theologian, that is not correctly translated from its first line to its last. Such works are not transcribed, or only excerpted; no, Shakespeare, Byron, Shelley, Dickens, Bulwer, Thackeray, Hobbes, Hume, Locke, Gibbon, Darwin, are as much part of the German literature as Voltaire, Rousseau, Ponsard, Lamartine, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Pushkin, Andersen and Jokai, or as Schiller and Goethe.

The advantages of this universalism to the nation are immense; because they enable it to be thoroughly acquainted with the innermost thoughts of different nations, promoting thus their own progressive mode of thinking. It is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the literatures of the world, that nearly every nation has had a so-called "golden age" of its literature, but not so the Germans; they progress in all the branches of poetry, in epic, lyric, and dramatic works. In spite of a Herder, Lessing, Klopstock, Schiller and Goethe, they possess a Lenau,

Herwegh, Freiligrath, Geibel, Mosenthal, Halm, Grillparzer, Laube, Gutzkow, etc. And these writers have not only the difficulty to compete with the writers in their own language, but with the classic writers of all other nations, ancient and modern. But when a shoemaker quoted and used Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio, Virgil, Homer, Hesiod, Seneca, Beroaldus, Ambrosius and Boëthius, what ought a university man know? The spirit of the shoemaker, Hans Sachs, who died in 1576, is now the national spirit of the Germans,—it is "Universalism and Humanism."

G. G. ZERFFI.

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THE LISTENING SLAVE," AND THE FLAYING OF MARSYAS.

No. 1. At San Paolo, near Rome.

Gardner Wilkinson d

XI.—THE LISTENING SLAVE AND THE FLAYING OF MARSYAS.

BY SIR GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

(Read March 21st, 1875.)

THE question has often been asked whether the statue, called by some the "grinder," by others the "listening slave," represented any particular personage, or might be connected with some fable of antiquity. The whole subject, however, of which it formed a part, has been, long before this, before the world, on more than one ancient monument, proving, unquestionably, that it represents the Phrygian slave, sharpening his knife for flaying Marsyas; as early as the year 1820, I fortunately made a copy of it from a sarkophagus at the well-known Basilica of *San Paolo fuori le mure*, near Rome, which is given in the drawing No. 1, accompanying this paper. This may have been the "très grand tombeau antique (sous le porche) chargé de bas-reliefs qui sont mauvais" mentioned by Lalande,[1] which was probably destroyed when the church was burnt, in July, 1823.

But it is by no means the only representation of

[1] Italia 5, 12, p. 341.

this figure as part of the same subject; and, some years later (in 1829), I met with another at Arles, where it occurs at one end of a sculptured monument, No. 2. A., the other end, No. 2. B. bearing the figure of Marsyas bound to an oak[2] by the command of Apollo, who is present, seated in a recess at the centre, No. 2. C.

The subject is also found, in a painting on a gold ground, discovered in 1740 in the Hospital of the "Mendicanti," at Rome, which is given by D'Agincourt;[3] where the same figure of the slave occurs, holding his knife, ready to flay Marsyas. Here, as in the same subject, in the Museo Borbonico, the youth Olympus intercedes for his preceptor,[4] and, on the cast of a gem,[5] Olympus supplicates Apollo to spare Marsyas, who is already bound to the tree, though the figure of the Phrygian slave is omitted.

Other examples of the same subject, more or less completely represented, may also be found on vases and various monuments, all showing it to be connected with Phrygia;[6] and, on a vase in Millin[7], Marsyas appears as a satyr clad in a leopard's skin, with his name ΜΑΡΣΥΑΣ over him; showing him

[2] Here to an oak; in the other subject (No. 1) to a palm or date-tree. Apollodorus (i. 4) says, to a spreading pine, probably as the emblem of Apollo's victory, though that tree was sacred to Cybele. Ovid. Metam. 103. Juvenal only says of him, "tristis . . . Marsya victus" (Sat. ix. 2), without mentioning his being bound.

[3] Pt. 3, Paintings, pl. i. fig. 16, 17, 18. Ed. Owen Jones.

[4] Pausan. x. c. 30.

[5] In my possession.

[6] As on a vase in the Museo Borbonico.

[7] Millin, Peinture de Vases antiques, vol. i. pl. 9, and, probably, in vol. ii. pl. 36.

Gardner Wilkinson, a

No. 2. At Arles.

At A on the other end, corr

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to be the same person who is called by Pausanias[8] "*Σειληνὸν Μαρσύαν*," and said by him to have been put to death by Minerva for having picked up the tibiæ she had thrown away. Herodotus also calls him the Silenus Marsyas, and says his skin[9] was shown in the market-place of Celænæ, which Apollo had placed there. He is supposed in this character to be on the attendant Cybele, as Silenus was on Bacchus.

The fable of Marsyas evidently referred to the differing qualities of the two kinds of music produced by stringed and wind instruments, represented, as these were respectively, by the lyre and the double pipe;[10] but its object was also intended to warn men against the impious presumption of contending against the gods.[11]

It was, therefore, considered a proper emblem, to be placed before them in the courts of justice,[12] not only at the Roman Forum,[13] but in the provinces also; hence, we find many paintings on vases as well as other objects, bearing allusion to the same fabled punishment of Marsyas. It was also recorded on the lyre of Apollo, as a testimony to the superiority

[8] Pausan. i. c. 24.

[9] Ælian. Var. Hist. 13, 21, who tells a strange story of the sound of the instrument (the double pipe) on the skin of Marsyas.

[10] The contest, however, does not appear to have been confined to those instruments, Apollo having, rather unfairly, added his voice to the tones of his lyre. Diod. iii. c. 58; Plut. Symp. vii. p. 713.

[11] In short, they were to be mindful of the maxim in the golden verses attributed to Pythagoras, *Ἀθάνατους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς*.

[12] Marsyas is called "Causidicus" by Martial, 2 Epig. 64, 8, an "Celænæus," from Celæne, in Phrygia, 10 Epig. 62, 9.

[13] Horat. i., Sat. 6, 120.

of that instrument, and to the victory obtained by the god; and Pliny records a picture by the famous Xeuxis on this theme, preserved in his day in the temple of Concord at Rome.[14] It would be superfluous to make any further remarks on a subject so well known. I may as well observe, that in the first drawing here given, the sculptor has, by a singular preconceived notion of a musical competition, introduced a goat, confounding the contest between Apollo and Marsyas with the choral songs or dithyrambs of the early *τραγῳδία*, and their prize;[15] unless, indeed, it has reference to the Satyr Marsyas, the figure of Apollo being omitted, while that of Mercury is introduced, probably in his character as one of the traditional inventors of the lyre.

In the second drawing we have a proof (if any were required) that the contest was not between the lyre and the flute, as so often stated, but between the lyre and the double pipe—an instrument of common use in ancient times, and, probably, best known by the name "tibiæ," as in Horace i. Od. i. 32, "Si neque tibias Euterpe cohibet;" in Quintil. i. 10, p. 105, "tibiis;" and in Plin. N. H. 5. 29. This instrument was the *αὐλός* of Diod. iii. 58, Pausan. viii. 9, [*αὐλών*, in Pausan. x. c. 30, Suidas, s. v., and others]; and it is to be regretted that, in the hand of the well-known Statue of Euterpe, which has been

[14] Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxv. 10, Xeuxidis manu Româ in Concordiæ delubro Marsyas religatus. Other passages in Pliny, referring to this matter, are vii. 204, Marsyas Phryx tibias geminas invenit, item Phrygios modulos; v. 106, Marsyas tibiarum cantu cum Apolline certans; xvi. 240, Marsyas ex platano pependit ab Apolline victus.

[15] Horat. Ar. Poet. v. 220, Carmine quo tragico vilem certavit ob hircum.

restored, a single tibia has been introduced instead of the "tibiæ."

The supposition that *tibia* was a "flute" was thought to be supported by the story of Minerva's seeing her "mouth" distorted, as it appeared reflected in the water, while blowing that instrument; though, in reality, it was the unbecoming effect (δυσόφθαλμος ἄισχος. Athen. xiv. p. 6, 6) on her whole features when playing the double pipe that offended her: abundant representations of performers on this instrument show how distorted was the whole face,[16] even when aided by the *Capistrum*, or φορβειά,[17] often worn to enable them to bear the great tension on their cheeks, and to assist them in blowing, and correctly modulating, the sound of the tibia, as we learn from Cicero.

But not only is the name "tibia" (as well as the Greek αὐλός) constantly translated "flute," but even *tibiæ*, the Greek δίαυλος are called a "double *flute*," and yet the flute is not properly the "*tibia*," but the "*tibia obliqua* (πλαγιαύλος), an instrument common in ancient Egypt, but rarely found on monuments of Roman or of Greek times.

I have seen a flute at Rome, wanting the lower end, 5⅓ inches long, and a little more than ½ an inch in diameter, made of bone, cased entirely with brass or bronze, which, besides the hole for the mouth, had five for the fingers on the upper, and three on the under side. The band of numerous αὐλητάι

[16] Jul. Poll. Onomast iv. 68.

[17] Plut. Symp. vii., p. 713, various names and derivations are given for this device; thus, *inter alia*, we have the fanciful one of Hesychius and Suidas, φέρειν βίᾳ. Cf. Aristoph. Vesp. v. 582.

mentioned by Thucydides (5, 70) were "pipers," not "flute-players";[18] the *αὐλητής* in Herodotus (i. 141) was also a piper, who "piped to the fish";[19] and Theocritus[20] and Bion[21] both state expressly that the *αὐλός* was not a flute (or *πλαγιαύλος*, which differed from the *αὐλός*), and Bion tells us it was invented by Pan, as the *αὐλός* was by Minerva, though Julius Pollux[22] says it was invented by the Libyans, and called *Πλάγιος λώτινος*, from being made of *lotos* wood.[23] It might be supposed that Bion alluded to the Pan pipes, called by Diodorus (3, 57) *πολυκάλαμον σύριγγα*, which he says was invented by Cybele. Virgil, as we know, called this instrument "fistula," and attributed the invention to Pan, as in the lines—

> "Pan primus calamos cera conjungere plures
> Instituit . . . .
> . . . . disparibus septem compacta cicutis
> Fistula."
>
> *Eclog.* 232–36.

The *πλαγιάυλος*, however, is a different instrument from the Pan pipes, and from the *calamus* and *avena*, or shepherd's pipe. The Pan pipes were also called *σύριγγες*, and differed from the *αὐλοὶ*.[24]

[18] Athen. Deipnos. xiv., p. 617, who speaks of the "*ἂυλων*" of Marsyas.

[19] In Matt. xi. 17, and Luke vii. 32, it is *ἠυλήσαμεν ὑμῖν*, "we have piped unto you," a correct translation.

[20] Theocrit. Id. 20, 29, *κὴν ἀυλῷ λαλέω κὴν δώνακι κὴν πλαγιαυλῳ*.

[21] Bion. 3, 7, *ἔυρεν πλαγιάυλον ὁ Παν, ὡς ἀυλόν Ἀθανα*.

[22] Poll. Onom. iv., c. 2. 74, and Athenæus xiv., p. 618, claim a Libyan origin for the *αὐλὸς*.

[23] The Zizyphus Lotus (lotos), the Rhamnus Nabeca of Forskal, improperly called Rh. Spina Christi: arbor, *Sidr.*; fructus, *Nabk*.

[24] Homer distinguishes the *αὐλοὶ* from the *Σύριγγες*, Il. x. 13.

It is well known that the *tibiæ* consisted of two tubes of the same length, generally joined together at the mouth-piece, one called *tibia dextra*, the other *tibia sinistra;* the left one giving the base, the right one the treble notes; in the same manner as those of the double pipe (*Zummárah*, made of reed, *canna*), in modern Egypt, handed down from the time of the Pharaohs. This instrument is of ruder construction and materials than the ancient one, which, originally made of a shin bone, was, subsequently, often of ivory or bronze, or of lotos, box, or other hard wood, or of bone, sometimes bound or cased with silver or brass.[25] Though so common in different countries, both in ancient and modern times, it was seldom made with the wind-bag, which, though long used in southern Italy, is scarcely known by the modern Egyptians. The continuous droning sound, however, of the *Zummárah* is frequently obtained by means of a long joint added to the end of the left-hand tube, when required by the performer.

The double pipe was supposed to have come, originally, to Greece and Rome, from Asia, and the names Phrygian and Lydian were hence applied to it, though this last reference might as well signify Etruscan, the Etruscans having been looked on by many as a Lydian colony; it was certainly a favourite instrument in their country, where the "*subulo*" (*tibicen*) so frequently appears in their tombs and in

[25] Horat. A. Poet. 202,

Tibia, non ut nunc, orichalco vincta, tubæque
Æmula.

See ante, p. 267.

their sepulchral paintings.[26] That it came to be generally accepted as a Phrygian and Lydian instrument, is a notion confirmed by Clemens Alexandrinus, who says[27] "Marsyas invented the mixed Phrygian and mixed Lydian harmony." The Berecyntian *cornu*,[28] called also *tibia*, differed from the usual *tibiæ*, in having one straight and one curved tube. *Athenæus*[29] tells us that horns and trumpets (*κέρατα καὶ σάλπιγγες*) were invented by the "Tyrrheni" (Etruscans); the "*σύριγγα καὶ αὐλόν*" by Marsyas;

[26] The Piper or "Tibicen," who played the double pipe, was called "Subulo," whence the Italian "Zuffolo;" and, from this double pipe (of Roman times) that of the modern Egyptians, called "*Zummarah* has been borrowed; the sound of which bears some resemblance, at a short distance, to the bag-pipes. One pipe gives the base, the other the tenor (which is also the case with the Spanish castanets). The analogy of the Latin "Subulo" and the Arabic *Zummer*, or *Summer* (to play the double pipe) is evident, *b* being changed to *m*, and *l* into *r*, as is usual. The subject of the "Subulo" is common on Etruscan paintings and sculptures, as well as on those of Greece and Rome. The "Subulo" often wore the *φορβειὰ*, as may be seen on Etruscan paintings and at Herculaneum, where one of the paintings exhibits a man playing in this way, accompanied by a lyre and the voice. (Mus. Borbon. ix. pl. 29.) The double pipe occurs sometimes in the hands of women, but generally of Bacchantes. (Campana, Antiche Opere in Plastica. Tav. xxxvii., xlviii., etc.)

[27] Clem. Alex. Strom. i., p. 307.

[28] Ovid. Fast. iv., 85,

. . . "inflexo Berecynthia tibia cornu
Flabit."

Horat. i., Od. 19, 13,

"Cum Berecynthio
Cornu tympana."

The "Berecynthiæ tibiæ" are mentioned also by him, 3 Od. 19, 18, and 4 Od., 1, 22,—

"Lyræque et Berecynthiæ
Delectabere tibiæ,
Mixtis carminibus, non sine fistulâ."

[29] Athen. Deipnos. iv., p. 184.

but, in speaking of the contest of Marsyas, he maintains that he played upon the "*αυλούς*," or double pipe.[30] Julius Pollux, indeed, mentions a Tyrrhene *tibia*,[31] though it was of a different kind, being a single tube of brass or bronze, blown into at the lower end, and giving forth but a feeble sound.

The *tibiæ* were always considered of barbarian origin; yet, in spite of the conflicting merits of the lyre and the double pipe, the former, as Horace says,[32] Dorian, the latter barbarian (the lyre connected with the worship of Apollo, the *tibia* with that of Cybele), they were constantly played together by both Greeks and Romans. This was also the custom of the ancient Egyptians, as of the Jews and other people; hence, the lyre (*kinoór*) and the double pipe (*āgáb*) (mistranslated in Genesis iv. 21, "harp and organ," were looked up as the representation of the two distinct kinds of music, viz., of stringed and wind instruments.

In the Bible, the double pipe is generally mentioned under the name of the *āgáb* or *augab* (עֻגָב or עוּגָב), and in Daniel iii. 5, by the *symphoniah* (סומפוניה), in our translation, "psaltery," clearly a double instrument, from the Greek *Συμφωνία*. According to the Targum, the *āgáb* was also called *abúba* (אבובא); in Syriac, "*anbuba*," whence the name in Horace, *ambubaiæ*,[33] for a class of profligate women sarcastically designated by him "Collegia," this

[30] Athen. Deipnos. xiv., p. 616, and, it appears to be always the double pipe when figured in his hand, as in Monum. Ined. of Rome, pl. 37, and elsewhere. See also Diod. 3, 57; Plut. Sympos. vii., p.

[31] Onom. 4. 9. 70.

[32] Horat. Epod. 9, 8.

[33] Horat. i. Sat. 2, 1.

name (*ambubaiæ*) having been evidently derived from the instrument upon which they played.

It is, however, often seen in the hands of more modest performers than the "*ambubaiæ*," or "*subulones*," the latter of whom, if we may judge from the accounts given by Macrobius[34] of the "Subulonis impudica et prætextata verba jacentis," were frequently as depraved as the *ambubaiæ*.

I will only add that, if the two subjects, the copies of which accompany this paper, and which clearly establish the office and character of the "Listening Slave," should not have been noticed by some members of the Society, it will be very gratifying to me to have made mention of them. I shall also congratulate myself in being able to add these few remarks, which a long continuance of ill health has, till now, prevented me from writing, and the imperfect nature of which I must, therefore, beg the Society, indulgently, to excuse.

GARDNER WILKINSON.

Brynfield House,
March 9th, 1875.

[34] Macrob. Saturn. Arg. Lib. 2.

The following notes on the preceding paper, by Mr. Vaux, have been added at the request of Sir Gardner Wilkinson.

In looking up the story of Marsyas in connection with this paper, I found in the valuable work of the Comte de Clarac many other representations of this satyr as existing in the collections of the Villas Pamphili, Albani, and Borghese, at Rome; but, in some of these, it may be reasonably doubted, whether the so-called Marsyas is not rather a Silenus.

The following is a list of the more certain and remarkable specimens, but there are, probably, others that I have not detected.

Clarac iii., p. 306. 1139 A, Marsyas, in Greek marble (Vill. Pamph).
——— 1139 B. Ditto, in Carrara marble (Vill. Albani).
——— 1140*, Marsyas tied to the tree (Louvre, from the Borghese collection), in Pentelic marble, and very perfect.
——— Large sarkophagus at the Louvre, Pl. 123.
——— 1141, in the Tribune at Florence.

The last is *L'Arrotino,* the most celebrated of the representations of this myth. The head here is without the usual cap, and strikes me as a restoration. As the actual *provenance* of ancient works of art is always a matter of interest, it is worth while to add that, in the archives of the museum at Florence, it is recorded that, in 1586, the Grand Duke Francis I. bought of Virgilius Orsini a statue,

called "Marsyas flayed," and that, according to Vasari, the sculptor Verrocchio was employed to restore some parts of this subject which had been lost, for Lorenzo the Magnificent. It is further probable (judging from groups referring to it, preserved on different sarkophagi) that this statue was one of a series, in honour of Apollo's victory over Marsyas, intended for the pediment of a temple; it is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the statue noticed by Vasari was either *L'Arrotino* or one of such a group, in which it would take a prominent place.

The sarkophagus at the Louvre (Clarac, Pl. 113) is by far the most complete, in that it exhibits at least twenty figures, all apparently in good preservation; most of these figures are standing or sitting, in expectation of the triumph of Apollo, and the punishment of Marsyas. On it may be recognised three Scythians, one seated on the ground near Apollo, the other on his knees, sharpening his knife, while a third is fastening to the pine-tree the ropes with which Marsyas is about to be bound. Near Apollo are five Muses, and to his left, Diana and Mercury; Marsyas is in front, humble, with head bowed down. Another similar scene is described by Winckelmann (Mons. Inéd. No. 42). The drawing of this last is very bad, but the subject can easily be recognised. Probably both these monuments are ancient copies of one original.

Other smaller sculptures of the same class are in Clarac iii. 307, 1142. Apollo and Marsyas (Mus. Dresd. in Le Plat's Augusteum, Pl. 83); here Marsyas has the feet of a Pan.

On a gem, Apollo is playing the lyre, while Marsyas is being flayed (Winkelm. Pierres Gravées).

On an Etruscan patera, Apollo is ordering the Scythian to do his work (Guattani Mons. Inéd, 1785).

On an emerald gem in the museum at Florence, Marsyas has the feet of an ox (Lacombe Tome I.).

On a candelabrum in the Vatican, young Olympus is deploring the fate of his master (Mus. Pio-Clem. v. pl. 14), and on a painting at Herculaneum (Pittore d'Ercol. ii. pl. 9), the same youth is throwing himself at the feet of Apollo, and imploring him to spare Marsyas.

The Phrygian slave dress is the *Anaxyris* and Phrygian bonnet, with the mouth partially covered, so that it may not be used in speaking or crying out.

With regard to the musical contest, it would seem that, in ancient as in modern times, the sons of harmony were not the best tempered people in the world. Thus we find the Muses destroying Thamyris, and changing the daughters of Pierus into birds, and even Orpheus himself torn to pieces by the furious Mœnads. I suspect the myth really preserves the tradition of a revolution in the musical art, wherein Marsyas appears as the representative of the old or rustic music of the Pans, satyrs, etc., whose chief instrument was the pipe, whether single, or joined together, like the instrument we still call the Pan's pipe, which we find on ancient monuments, as well as at modern fairs and representations of Punch; while, on the other hand, Apollo used the lyre or *cithara*, which gave forth sounds more pleasing to

gentle and educated ears, and, at the same time, admitted of the accompaniment of the voice.

But the higher instrument did not at once succeed, and, among the uneducated and ruder populations, the pipe long retained its hold. Thus, we find in Bœotia, this less perfect instrument especially popular, although (according to the tradition) Amphion had played on the lyre so exquisitely that even the stones in the walls of Thebes danced to his strains.[35]

As the pipe was the especial pleasure of the Bœotians, so was the lyre of the polished Athenians; indeed, it was, perhaps, enough that the Bœotians liked the tibia for the Athenians to despise and ridicule its tones. On the same principle the Comic poets quizzed the Theban pipe, inflated cheeks and staring eyes of the players. On the other hand, Pericles, as the upholder of good old customs, tried hard to persuade Alcibiades, then the young leader of fashion, to learn the pipe of Antigenides, whom Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, and Apuleius note as the great player of that day. Aristotle, however, remarks that, if it be true that Minerva accidentally invented it, she, no doubt, soon threw it away in disgust. About the year Ol. LXXX. Melanippides placed the story of Marsyas on the stage, and his drama was well received by the populace; but, as a subject of art, it was, probably, not accepted earlier than Polygnotus, for had this been so, we should have expected that when he painted in the Lesche at Delphi the vengeance of the Mœnads on Thamyris, he would also have added that of Apollo on Marsyas.

[35] Horat., Movit Amphion lapides canendo. 3. Od. 11. 2, and Art. Poet. v. 395.

In the relief from San Paolo, I think the figure behind the Phrygian slave really indicates Apollo, who is standing with his instrument (here, it would seem, the *cithara* and not the lyre) *reversed*, agreeably with the description in Apollodorus.[36] He is pointing to it with the forefinger of his right hand, perhaps, as an additional mark of derision, as much as to say, Apollo can play any way, with his lyre reversed or in any other position; or, it may be as an indication of the nature of the recent contest. In this case, what appears, from the mutilated state of the stone, to be only a straight line leading up to the rounded part of the *cithara*, must be taken as representing the cords of the instrument. This relief has been noticed by Heeren (who has given also a very poor plate of it) in an article in Welcker's Zeitschrift, Götting. 1828; but it seems to me that he has missed the purport of the cithara or lyre, as he fancies Apollo is holding in his hand a shepherd's staff. I have not been able to ascertain, though I have written to Rome for this purpose, whether, in the destruction by fire of the church, this relief was destroyed also: I should rather suspect, it is still to be found in the great storehouse of the Vatican.

The following description, from the Imagines of Philostratus, is so curious and bears so nearly on the subject which Sir Gardner Wilkinson has dealt with,

[36] This I take to be the meaning of the words in Apollodorus i. 4, 2, *τῆς κρίσεως γινομένης τὴν κιθάραν στρέψας ἠγωνίζετο ὁ Ἀπόλλων, καὶ τἀυτὸ ποιεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Μαρσύαν*, etc. (See last page for passage from Philostratus.)

that I append it here. I have omitted some sentences that seemed to me irrelevant, and I have added a translation, which must be considered as giving the spirit of the original rather than as a minutely accurate version:

Καθῄρηται ὁ Φρύξ, βλέπει γοῦν ἀπολωλὸς ἤδη διὰ ξύνεσιν ὧν πείσεται, καὶ ὕστατα δὴ ἀυλῆσαι πεπίστευκεν, οὐκ ἐς καιρὸν ἐς τὸν τῆς Λητοῦς θρασυνάμενος, ἔρριπταί τε αὐτῷ ὁ ἀυλὸς ἄτιμος, μὴ ἀυλεῖν ἔτι. . . . . καὶ παρέστηκε μὲν τῇ πίτυι, ἀφ' ἧς κρεμασθήσεσθαι δίδε, ταύτην ἑαυτοῦ καταδικασάμενος δίκην, ἀσκὸς δεδάρθαι. ὑποβλέπει δὲ ἐς τὸν βάρβαρον τοῦτον τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς μαχαίρας παρακονώμενον ἐς αὐτόν· ὁρᾷς γάρ που, ὡς αἱ μὲν χεῖρες ἐς τὴν ἀκόνην αὐτῷ καὶ τον σίδηρον· ἀναβλέπει δὲ ἐς τόν Μαρσύαν, γλαυκιῶν τὼ ὀφθαλμώ, καὶ κόμην τινὰ διανιστὰς ἀγρίαν τε καὶ ἀύχμῶσαν. Τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς παρειᾶς ἔρευθος φονῶντος, οἶμαι. . . . . Ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων γέγραπται διαναπαύων ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πέτρας τινός· ἡ λύρα δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κειμένη, ἔτι πλήττεται ὑπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς λαιᾶς, ἐμπιπτούσης ἠρημαίως καὶ δίον διαψαλλούσης. Ὅρα δὲ καὶ ῥᾴθυμον τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶδος, καὶ μειδιάμα ἐπανθοῦν τῷ προσώπῳ· ἥ τε χεὶρ ἡ δεξιὰ ἐπίκειται τῷ κόλπῳ, πρᾴως ξυνέχουσα τὸ πλῆκτρον, καταρρᾳθυμουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐς τὴν νίκην χαίροντος.

"The Phrygian is cast down. He looks as already all but destroyed, from the knowledge of what he is about to undergo. Surely he has now discerned that he has played on the 'tibiæ' for the last time, having dared audaciously and out of season, to contend with the son of Latona. The 'tibiæ' no longer his pride, he has cast aside, as one who could no longer play upon them. . . . . He is stand-

ing by the side of the pine-tree, from which he knows he will be suspended, having, as it were, decreed for himself the judgment, to have his skin flayed off. Furtively he glances at this barbarian, who is sharpening the edge of his knife. You may see, too, how his hands (the barbarian's) are (as it were) intent upon the whetstone and the steel; and how he is looking up to Marsyas, glaring terribly with his eyes, and raising up his rough and squalid hair. And the blush upon his cheek is that of one, I think, about to commit a murder. . . . . And Apollo, himself, is also depicted reposing himself for a while on a rock, while his lyre, lying to the left, is still touched by his left hand, falling as this does gently on it, and just evoking the sound of its chords.

You may see, also, here, the form of the god *en negligeé*, and a sweet smile, blooming as it were, over his whole face. His right hand rests upon his bosom, and gently embraces the *plectrum* in an attitude of careless rejoicing over the victory he had achieved."—(Philostr. Jun. Imag. 2., p. 7. Ed. Kayser. Turici. 4°. 1844.)

XII.—ON RUSSIAN PROVERBS, AS ILLUSTRATING RUSSIAN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

BY THE REV. J. LONG.

(Read May 26th, 1876.)

THAT Proverbs are deserving the attention of a literary society is a truth now generally admitted; they express the law written on the heart, they are the hieroglyphics of the masses, the coins of antiquity; they picture out the *juventus mundi* or youth of the world. they preserve the memory of events and usages which would otherwise have perished for ever; the hoar of ages is on them. Isaac D'Israeli, in his 'Curiosities of Literature,' has well said, "Proverbs existed before books, they give a deep insight into domestic life, and, although they are no longer the ornaments of conversation, they have not ceased to be the treasure of Thought,"—and this in spite of Lord Chesterfield's denunciation of them as vulgar.

A residence of 30 years in India impressed me deeply with the utility of Proverbs as instruments for conveying instruction to youth and adults, and a two years' residence in Russia made me acquainted with the rich treasures of this kind deposited in that country, from which I have brought 25,000, which I am utilising, along with Oriental Proverbs, in the preparation of a book to illustrate Scripture by oriental emblems and proverbs, a subject so interesting to the young and the masses.

RUSSIAN PROVERBS LITTLE KNOWN.

Russian proverbs, though perhaps the richest in Europe in originality and wit, exceeding in this respect the Spanish, are little known. Bohn ignores them, so does Trench; and Kelly, in his 'Proverbs of *all* Nations," does not quote even one. What would Erasmus not have given had he had access to such a storehouse!

The reason mainly is that Russian proverbs, like the Russian people themselves, are strangers to Europe; —two of Europe's greatest events, the Crusades and the Reformation, had no effect on Russia—Russian Proverbs are buried in a language one of the most difficult on the face of the earth; the difficulty of translating proverbs generally, arising from their love of rhythm and alliteration, is peculiarly great in the Russian, for the Russians, as semi-orientals, are a very poetic people, and express their proverbs in a metrical form.

I believe I have the honour of being the first to publish a translation of select Russian proverbs in Calcutta, in 1868. Mr. Ralston, in the 'Quarterly Review' for October, 1875, has given an admirable article on the subject.

As the Russians are becoming our neighbours in Asia, it is of great importance to be acquainted with their Proverbs as an index to their national mind.

RUSSIAN WORKS ON PROVERBS.

No people have more diligently investigated their folk lore and proverbs than the Russians. Peter the Great valued them, and the great Empress Catherine

herself compiled a selection of Russian proverbs, remarking that "they point sense and strengthen speech.' Foremost among Proverbioligists are Dr. Dahl, of Moscow, who published in 1862 a classified collection of more than 25,000 Russian proverbs, and proverbial sayings; and Snegiref, who has, in 1831–4, in four volumes, the 'Russians in their Proverbs,' written a most interesting analysis and disquisition on the origin, antiquity, and signification of these coins of the people, in relation to anthropology, history, with parallel ones from European proverbs.

Dahl, in his great Russian dictionary, has set an example worthy of imitation in other languages, viz., illustrating the words by quotations from proverbs, not like Dr. Johnson from books. He has well said, to know Russian proverbs is to know the Russian language, and a nation's proverbs form its popular code of laws.

ORIGIN OF RUSSIAN PROVERBS.

The connection of Russia with Constantinople and its Greek form of Christianity, has introduced many Greek proverbs into Russia, as it has many letters of the Greek alphabet into the Russian Alphabet.

The majority of Russian proverbs originated during the rule of the Tátás in Russia, when the sacred fire of knowledge was transmitted from father to son in the form of proverbs and short sentences; in the cold of winter, called mother dear, the people assembled round the stove and kept up the memories of proverbs.

The influence of the Normans and Germans in

Russia introduced many proverbs, but though many English as well as Dutch words were introduced into Russia, yet English proverbs were not transmitted with them.

Many Russian proverbs are similar to those of other European nations, and illustrate "the many diversities of form which the same thought assumes as expressed in different times and by many distinct races of men." Here are a few examples.

"The voice of the people the voice of God.
One hand will wash the other.
You catch fish in troubled waters."

Still in the main Russian proverbs, like the Russian people, indicate an Asiatic origin; the Slavs kept to the East of Europe and formed a link between East and West.

Latin, which worked itself into the dialects of Western Europe, has left few traces in the Russian either in words or proverbs.

RUSSIA SEEN THROUGH POLISH SPECTACLES.

Russia has in former days been too much described by pens dipped in Polish ink; happily there is a great revolution in English opinion of late years in favour of the Russian people; while Russian literature, as a fresh contribution to the somewhat *blasé* literature of Europe, is being hailed as an acquisition.

Whereas the Poles and Germans paint the Russians as barbarians, their proverbs show them to be a race attached to home and the family—forgiving and forgetting, letting byegones be byegones,

"Knock out his eye who remembers byegones.
Bury it as a stone in water, only bubbles at the top."

They were hospitable to strangers — reverencing religion—kind,

"A kind word is better than a pie."

On the other hand the Poles, though a kindred Slav race, are viewed with no kindly eye by the Russians; as the former were their conquerors, and endeavoured to impose on them the Latin language and Romish rites.

"When God made the world he sent the Poles some reason and the feet of a gnat, but even this little was taken away by the women."

"A Pole tells lies even in his old age."

The Polish women are very beautiful, and strongly anti-Russian, hence the saying,

"We are not in Poland, where the women are stronger than the men."

RUSSIAN PROVERBS ON THE PEOPLE.

While Russian history, as presented to Europe, is chiefly occupied with the Czars, nobles, and wars foreign and domestic, the Russian people have been to a great degree ignored; less was known of them in Europe than of the Hindus—their country was far, there was a difficult language to master, and a hostile climate to encounter; but matters are altering. Petersburg is now only three days from London, and the multiplication of books on Russia shows an increasing interest in the country; while the Turkish question is leading

to full liberty for the trampled-down Slavs of the Danubian Provinces. To know something, however, about the Russian people, you must not go merely to the pages of the historian, you must seek them in their homes and in their proverbs, which express the salt, sense, and wit of the multitude. In the long winter evenings of Russia proverbs and pictures are never failing sources of amusement to the men wrapped in sheepskins, congregated round the stove or stretched on a bench. The rural population do not view things through French, English, or German spectacles, but regard them from their own Slav standpoint. The foreign and French innovations of Peter the Great and Catherine are seen only in the saloons of the upper classes, who, having been civilised superficially, have too often become demoralised, but these innovations have not stirred the depths beneath, though they have produced in the upper ten thousand a servile imitation of strangers with a disregard of the historical, political, and religious antecedents of the nation.

Russian literature is very rich on subjects relating to folk lore and peasant life, which Tourgeneuf, the Walter Scott of Russia, has dramatised. Krilof, effected by his fables greater social reforms in Russia than Dickens has accomplished in England; there is an excellent translation of Krilof by Mr. Ralston; but we require translations also of the fables of Dimitrief and Khimnitzer.

The peasant of Russia, like the peasant of India, is little ruffled by the waves of politics which play over his head. A strong reverence for God and trust in his Providence, a love to relations and country, to "holy Russia," as it is called; above all, to the

Czar as the embodiment of authority, are marked features; the peasants are redolent of patriarchal times.

A good-humoured, witty sarcasm marks them.

How expresssive are the following!

"Pray to God, but keep rowing to the shore."

"Dreams are dreadful, but God is merciful."

Having to make a selection out of 25,000 Russian proverbs in my collection, I shall dwell on groups, or those chiefly which are characteristic or peculiar to the Russian people, simply referring to a few on morals.

RUSSIAN PROVERBS ON MORALS.

There are some 500 proverbs relating to drinking and drunkenness.

Drinking is the bane of the Russian peasants; they often drink for the pleasure of mere intoxication, and not for sociality.

"Drink at table, not behind a pillar."

The soldiers who are recruited from the ranks of the peasantry carry those drinking habits with them.

"The soldier finds a place neither in Paradise nor hell, for Paradise he is too outrageous, and in hell he would worry the devils with drinking."

Of great talkers and little doers:

"Dog, why do you bark?—to frighten the wolf away? but, dog, your tail is between your legs. Oh! I'm afraid of the wolf."[1]

[1] The Bengalis have a corresponding one,—In talk a tiger, in act a lizard.

On the danger of bad company.

"The wolf asked the goat to dinner, the goat respectfully declined," *i.e.*, he was invited to be eaten.

On caution in bad company.

"If acquainted with a bear, keep hold of the axe."

On building castles in the air.

"His thoughts are over the mountains, but death is behind his shoulder."

On trust in God.

"With God go over the sea.[2] Without God go not over the threshold."

On women and marriage the Russians have more than 500 proverbs, some of which are very racy.

"The hop searches for a pole to rest on, and a young girl for a young man."

On caution in marriage.

"Choose a wife by the ear rather than the eye," *i.e.*, have regard rather to her character than her looks.

"When you walk, pray once,
When you go to sea, pray twice,
When you go to be married, pray three times."

"A wife is not a slipper, or a glove, or a saddle, which you can remove when you like."

"A wife is not a guitar, which, when you have played on, you can hang against the wall."

Habits are not easily altered.

[2] The Russians are an inland people, hence that dread of the unknown deep.

"Feed the wolf as often as you like, still he will look to the forest."

Hospitality was a boon, as the guest served as a walking newspaper.

"A guest has not to thank the host, but the host the guest."

THE PECULIARITIES OF RUSSIAN PROVERBS.

Lord Bacon has truly said, "The genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs." The Russian proverbs not only show this, but they also illustrate many points in local natural history, peculiar usages, superstitions. There are more proverbs in Russian on God, the devil, and the church than in any other language.

One is struck in travelling in Russia at the reckless regard for the future, in the way the forests are being cut down, but the peasant answers you in the proverb:

"It will last our time—if after us no grass grows, what matters it to us?"

The usurers in Russia, as in India, are sources of great evil.

"In the other world usurers have to count red-hot coins with bare hands."

Priests and monks in Russia, as in Europe in the middle ages, come in for the lash.

"You are born, baptised, married, buried, but for all you must fee the priest."

"Hell is occupied by priests, clerks, and unjust judges."

"Buy not a gypsey's horse."

"Marry not a priest's daughter."

"The monk has the beard of an apostle; but the moustache of a devil."

Judges were notoriously corrupt, quite in the style of Jeffries.

"Fear not the law, but the judge."

"A judge is like a carpenter, what he wants he carves."

"Go before God with Justice,
Before the judge with money."

The Tchinovnik, or Russian official, is known for his oppression and bribery.

"To defend yourself against a thief, take a stick,
To defend yourself against a Tchinovnik, a rouble,"

"The Tchinovniks have a good portion in the other world,
They are directly promoted to be devils."

"The Tchinovnik only takes up his pen,
The peasants pray and birds tremble."

PROVERBS ILLUSTRATING OPINION.

The Russian proverbs are specially sarcastic on women.

In these days of the advocacy of women's rights and suffrage, the subject does not find much favour in Russia, except among a few women in the upper strata. The Russian proverbs recognise the distinct sphere of man and woman.

"If you be a cock, crow,
If a hen, lay eggs."

"Do not trust the wind in the fields,
Nor a woman with too much liberty."

And yet they recognise the power of woman's influence. There is a popular but mistaken idea in England, that the women of India are slaves; I have, however, myself often witnessed in India, that much of the Christian influence over the men is nullified by the power the female has in the domestic hearth when she stoops to conquer. The Russians say, on this head,

"The wife, without beating the husband, rules him by her temper."

"The husband is the head of the house. The wife is its soul."

"Having a good wife and rich cabbage soup; other things seek not."

Celibacy is not much esteemed by the people.

"A man without a wife is like a man in winter without a fur bonnet."

"A bachelor is a goose without water."

"The cuckoo complains because she has no nest.
It is a nuisance to go alone even to be drowned."

A man under female control, or what the Germans call under the slipper, is thus described.

"A crab is not a fish among fishes,
A bat is not a bird among birds,
So a hen-pecked husband is not a man among men."

SLAV RACE, ITS FUTURE—SEMI-ORIENTAL.

The recent revolutions in Turkey and Central Asia are lifting the curtain on a great drama, in which the Slav race, 80,000,000 in number, will have to take a leading part. While the Latin race, as represented by France, Spain, and Portugal is on the decline, a new and bril-

liant future is opening out to the Slavs, provided it is not marred by the old bane, too great extent of territory and the spirit of anarchy. The Slavs of Turkey and of Austria have, however, a common interest arising from race, religion, and language, and leading them to sympathise with Russia, their federal head. They have successfully struggled against the deadening influences of German centralisation, and have vindicated for themselves their character as a semi-oriental race, and as a bridge over the gulph between the east and west; while having that unity amid variety, and agreement with other Europeans, which indicates their having come from a common Aryan stock, yet their proverbs have a distinct oriental ring.

Russian proverbs, as coins, may hereafter throw light on the origin and migration of the Aryan race from their plateau in Central Asia. Proverbs, like myths, fables, language, stone remains, are clues to guide us in the labyrinths of early days.

The term *tchelobetz*, or presenting a petition, signifies striking the ground with the forehead, the position in which petitions were presented, and, like the prostration in prayer, indicates that spirit of *reverence* which may be seen in the meanest cab driver in St. Petersburg, who, in passing a church even on the coldest day, is sure to take off his hat out of respect, hence the proverb:

"The wife should reverence the husband as the cross on the steeple, but the husband must respect the wife as a chimney in a bath," *i.e.*, in the Russian vapour bath, owing to the damp, there is no danger of the chimney catching fire.

Yet the Russians seem agreed to split the difference as to the relative position of man and wife, for while

"The husband is father of his wife;"

On the other hand,

"The wife is the crown of her husband.
The husband is the head of the family,
The wife is the soul."

Another proverb, however, adds something not so fatherly.

"Beat your wife before dinner, and again before supper."

The love of symbols is to be seen everywhere in the Proverbs as well as on the brilliant shop fronts of Moscow.

In Russian proverbs may be found traces of pagan worship which the old Slavs paid to trees, forests, wood sprites, etc.

RUSSIAN PROVERBS—SEMI-ORIENTAL.

The love of word painting, quaint illustrations, humorous allegories, and emblems, is conspicuous in Russia, mixed with a quiet vein of sarcasm like that in the picture in which the Russians describe John Bull in his top boots, a big man living in a very small island, where he has no room to turn; or in the one with the Emperor Nicholas's portrait on a lamp shade, an obstacle to enlightenment.

Maidens were secluded until the days of Peter the Great. Modesty was the maiden's necklace, not to be shown to vulgar eyes; the women were veiled, and it was only Peter's despotism which forced the nobles

of Moscow to bring their wives and daughters into public.

"Birds in cages and maidens in the terem or upper chambers.
A visible girl is of copper, an invisible of silver."

Shir Ali, the Ruler of Afghanistan, when he visited Lord Mayo in the Punjab and saw the array of English ladies assembled there, so far from being struck with it, said the English are like my countrymen, they keep their prettiest women at home.

The *widows* come in for their share of odium, the old Slavs of Russia used to burn them with their deceased husbands, — beware of the widow is still their maxim.

"He has not seen misfortune who has not married a young widow."

"It is mawkish to remain a maid,
It is laborious to be a wife,
To be a widow is to be ducked in water."

And yet they say,

"He who throws even a splinter to cover a widow's house will be protected by God."

Fatalism was held very strongly; the Hindus say our destiny is marked in lines on our forehead.

Any one who has been in Russia knows what *si tchas* means; you order a thing, the servant says it is ready, but that means two hours hence.

"The Russian is clever, but always too late."

The proverbs generally take a metrical form, as Mr. Ralston states, "To this day, 'to speak in verse,'

is an expression used to signify a speaker's wisdom, the language of their tales is a modulated and cadenced prose."

RUSSIANS AND FOREIGNERS.

The Russian people are very hospitable to strangers, but they are jealous of them, and nothing but the iron will of a Peter the Great could have introduced the foreign element into Russia. While the Greeks styled foreigners barbarians, and the Hindus called them *mlecha* or unclean, the Russians, applying to themselves the title of Slavs or the speakers, gave to foreigners the name *nyemetz* or the dumb people; an epithet particularly applicable to the Germans, whom the Russians detest from race, temperament, and religious antagonism, as well as from their being used as the instruments of landlord and government oppression, the tools of despotism and worshippers of the almighty dollar. Germans monopolise some of the best offices in the State, and are the chief apothecaries, bakers, etc., of the country, hence they are called "sausage makers:" the fraternity of German tailors, also, is very numerous.

"The German may be a good fellow, but it is better to hang him."

The anarchy innate in the Slav race led the Russians at an early period to choose a foreign ruler, Rurik the Norman; but for a long period since the German element has been prominent in the State.

The Wends were a Slav race, occupying Brandenberg, Silesia, Pomerania, as far as the banks of the Elbe, but the Germans so oppressed them, destroying

their independence and language, that the term Slav and slave became synonymous, hence the Slav and Saxon were as hostile as the Saxon and Celt.

The *Gypseys*, some 400,000 in Russia, found, like the Jews all over Russia, and of equally filthy, wandering, and cheating habits, [they are, however, the best singers in the Moscow saloons,] come in, also, for censure.

"A gypsey once in his life tells the truth, but then he repents of so doing."

"A gypsey cannot live a single day without cheating."

"Where a Jew could not go the gypsey crept."

The French are thus referred to,

"Napoleon was not scorched, but he left Moscow."

"A frightened Frenchman runs away from even a she goat."

"A Frenchman's legs are thin, his soul little, he is fickle as the wind."

The Jew, so cheating and dirty in Russia, is not a favourite.

"A tamed wolf, a baptized Jew, and a reconciled enemy are equal in value."

"When you baptize a Jew, keep him under water;" *i.e.* drown him or he will turn renegade.

Of the modern Greeks they say—

"A Greek tells the truth once a year."

"One Jew is equal in cheating to two Greeks,
One Greek to two Armenians."

"A Russian can be cheated only by a gipsey, a gipsey by a Jew, a Jew by a Greek, and a Greek by the devil."

Of the Tátás, the oppressors of Russia, after the fashion of Goths and Vandals, for three centuries, it is said,—

"A Tátá has no soul, only a little vapour."

"A Tátá is born a pig, therefore he does not eat pork."

"The Pope of Rome and the Khan of the Crimea are the two additional misfortunes of Russia."

The Tátás, though they destroyed so many monuments of ancient civilisation as well as Russian records, yet altered very little its language or its proverbs.

The Armenians, the great bankers and traders, come in for their share:

"Out of two cauldrons in which the Jews were boiled, the devil has shaped one Armenian."

Landlordism, in the English or feudal sense, was utterly unknown to the Slavs or Orientals; wherever there was a landlord, he simply held a beneficiary interest. The Russians, like the Hindus, held the land in common with chiefs who were elected. Here are some of their Proverbs on landlords:

"The landlord's court has a wide entrance, but a narrow exit;" *i.e.*, it is easy to get in his debt, difficult to get out of it.

"The kindness of the landlord is as fleeting as dew."

"Even in hell the peasant will have to serve the landlord, for, while the latter is boiling in a cauldron, the former will have to put wood under it."

"Praise not the crop until it is stacked."

"Praise not the landlord until he is in the coffin."

"By birth a landlord, by deeds a Jew.

"God made the peasant, but the devil begat the landlord."

"Should a peasant become a landlord, he will flay the peasants."

The Bengalis have respecting their zemindars, or landlords, a proverb—

"The love which the Mussulman has to his fowl,"

i. e., he fattens it in order to devour it,

"The landlord has to the peasant."

"The Dissenters, or Raskolniks, of Russia are very numerous, some 15,000,000, and many are very bitter against the National Church.

"He who fears God does not go to church."

Some are like the English Quakers, and say,

"The Church is not in beams but in ribs."

"Songs and dances are Satan's daughters."

The beard is held in high veneration by them.

"Without a beard no admission to paradise."

To shave destroys the image of God."

Tea, coffee, tobacco, and potatoes are denounced by Dissenters as "the ruin of soul and body."

"Who smokes drives away the Holy Spirit."

"Thunder slays the coffee drinker."

"Tea, the Chinese arrow, has pierced the Russian heart."

"The smoker is brother to a dog."

By some sectaries in Russia tobacco is denounced as a sin on the principle of the text, "Not that which goeth *into* the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh *out* of the mouth."

But in spite of this, tea is so popular in Russia that the common term for drink money is *na chai*, tea-money.

With "Too many cooks spoil the broth" compare

"With seven nurses the child loses his eyes."

What the hearth or fireside is to the English, the stove or *petch* is to the Russian; as, on it, it is the privilege of the old women to sleep, it is called second mother, on which is to be found the warmth of summer-tide.

"Hold by an old friend but a new house."

Caste feeling is less strong in Russia than in Germany or England:

"The poor may wear a coat of sheepskin, but he has a human heart."

Until overshadowed by the autocracy of the Tsars, Russia was a freer country than France, as is shown in the history of Novogorod;[3] feudalism never took root, and when Peter the Great introduced the English law of primogeniture it was never popular.

Though the Russian people are so democratic in feeling, yet this is combined with the principle of fraternity, equality, great loyalty, and reverence to the Tsar,[4] respecting whom there are more than 100 proverbs.

"Our souls are God's, our body the Tsar's."

[3] See 'Quarterly Review,' October, 1862.

[4] The Tsar represented in the dark days of Russia the centre of unity, as against the lawlessness, brought in by the Tartar rule of three centuries.

"The Tsar is not fire, but approaching him you will be singed."

"The ears do not grow higher than the forehead," *i. e.*, you cannot rival the Tsar.[5]

"Without the Tsar the earth is a widow."

The joint family system, an offshoot of patriarchal times, in which all the relations of a family lived under one roof and shared the inheritance, was an institution common to India and Russia; yet this joint family system often led to much dissension, as they themselves admit "two bears cannot live in one den."

"Sisters-in-law are nettles."

"She grumbles like a mother-in-law."

Of a wife in the house of her husband's relations, it is stated—

"The father-in-law grumbles at her,
The mother-in-law abuses her,
The brother-in-law mocks her,
The sister-in-law does her mischief,
The husband is jealous."

"In a wood I met a bear, in my house the stepmother."

"She combs him as the stepmother combs her stepson," *i. e.*, tears his hair out.

The Mir, or village commune, which, along with the autocracy, was a great conservative power in Russia, has survived the desolations of the Tátás; it has

[5] An expression used by the nobles to show they had no ideas of rivalry.

lived through the grinding days of serfdom, and the feudal system fostered by the Tsars, and has come down with the hoar of 3000 years on it; indeed, from the period when the ancestors of the English and Russians lived together on the plains of Central Asia, it has been the base of their social development.

"The Commune is the surging wave."

"The neck and shoulders of the Commune are broad and it will carry all."

"A thread of the Commune becomes a shirt for the naked."

"The Commune sighs and the rock is rent asunder."

The limits I have assigned to this paper have been reached; I hope at a future time to take up the subject of the affinities between Russian and Indian Proverbs.

XIII.—ON THE SEALS OF KING HENRY THE SECOND, AND OF HIS SON THE SO-CALLED HENRY THE THIRD.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, *Hon. Librarian.*

(Read June 28th, 1876.)

THE contemplation of the seals which have been employed by the earlier Sovereigns of England in their Royal Charters, affords to antiquarian culture a large amount of curious material for study, reflection, and research. This study is not limited by the mere view of the art which has been expended upon the designs of the seals;—although, as the greater number of seals of sovereigns, because they are of sovereigns whose dates are known, inherently possess a very simple means of having their true era elicited, these objects of antiquity help us in no insignificant degree to determine the date of similar art-workmanship such as sculptures, costume, armour, illustrations, and other remains not easily to be referred to exact epochs without some such aid as these royal seals so readily offer to our investigation. But, in addition to this valuable property which they comprehend, we are bound, as we progress in our researches, to take into consideration all recorded historical events that are found to bear upon the seals; and the natural result of this is, that we are frequently enabled, during the course of our investigations, to throw fresh lights upon passages of history that have hitherto only been obscurely, imperfectly, or, it may be, incorrectly illustrated.

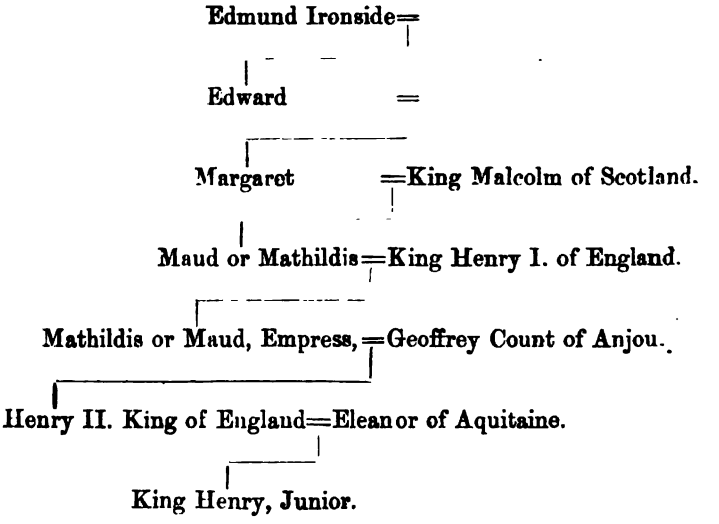
As an example of new lights which the study of Early English Royal Seals has thus cast upon our History (elucidations, as it were, of facts which have escaped the keen research of every one of our illustrious band of historians and chroniclers for upwards of seven hundred years), an examination into the history of the seal of Mathildis, or Maud, the daughter and heiress of King Henry I. (generally known as the Empress Maud, or *Mathildis Imperatrix*), from the fact of her marriage with the Emperor Henry V. of Germany), has resulted in my being fortunately enabled to demonstrate that Royal Lady's undisputed right to a place in all tables or schemes of Sovereigns of England; nevertheless it is, I believe, a very remarkable fact that her position with regard to the throne of England should have been so long, so universally, and so persistently ignored by all those whose fancy has led them to accept facts at second hand, or from perfunctory inquiries into the sources of our national history rather than from careful step by step pursuit of truth through historical tracks which, like indistinct paths in the primæval forest, often lead the wanderer into situations which at the outset could not have been foreseen. In a paper on this subject which I prepared last year, and which is now published in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, I have fully explained my views of the propriety of inserting the name of Mathildis or Maud as Queen of England into the History Tables under the date of 1141–1143; and as this position has never as yet been impugned, we may take it that it is right in the main; and I have shown that, until

the liberation of King Stephen from his imprisonment at Bristol, as a sequel to the battle at Winchester in 1143 (so disastrous to the prospects of Mathildis), she held her position as queen, most probably at London, and having in all likelihood obtained possession or procured the suppression of the great seal of Stephen, she appointed in turn no less than three chancellors, thereby indicating in a clear and practical way the absolute control she possessed, as well over the chancery of England as over the great seal of the Kingdom in the keeping of that officer. At this time, without question, Stephen's great seal, like his sovereignty, was either lost, or fallen into the power of his enemies, while that of the Empress, as existing specimens prove, was the only one endowed with regal authority and in the enjoyment of sovereign currency throughout the realm of England.

Now, I have introduced this apparent digression in this place to point to the importance of the study of historical seals, for my claim to the restoration of this queen's name is not due so much to my researches as it is to the unaccountable oversights of others. And I am in like manner impelled to-day by the necessity of overpowering evidence which will be laid before you, to insist upon the restoration of another royal name into the Regal *Fasti* of our Monarchs, namely, that of King Henry, Junior, the son of Henry II, a crowned King of England, whose name has hitherto been passed over unrecorded as a king.

Before, however, proceeding with this interesting division of my subject I shall speak of Henry II.

and his seals. Let us first run over the important dates of his life. He was, as we know, the son of the Empress Mathildis, *de jure*, and some time *de facto*, Queen of England. He had, too, the true Royal Saxon blood in his veins as is easily seen by the following pedigree tracing his descent, on his Imperial mother's side from Maud, wife of Henry I. and daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland whose wife Margaret was the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside:—



He was born at Mans in Normandy in the year 1133, and knighted at Carlisle in 1148. In 1149 he acquired the Duchy of Normandy from King Stephen of England. On the death of his father Geoffrey in 1151 he became in addition, by hereditary succession, Count of Anjou, *Comes Andegavorum* or *Comes Andegaviæ*. To these titles his marriage with the Princess

Eleanor or Alianora of Aquitaine in 1152 added a third, that of Duke of Aquitaine, *Dux Aquitanorum* or *Dux Aquitaniæ*. The death of the successful usurper Stephen, who left no issue behind him to perpetuate the schismatic succession to the throne, left England, on the 25th day of October, 1154, without a sovereign. The rightful heir was, without dispute, the Empress Mathildis, who had already for a short time, as I have said, possessed the power. And Henry her son had no other pretensions to the crown during her lifetime, than the convention with Stephen which had been ratified by the peers of each party, and the general assent of the people which they manifested at his coronation. This ceremony of coronation was performed on Sunday, the 19th day of December, 1154, eighty-five days of *interregnum* having elapsed from the decease of his predecessor. From this date therefore we must calculate the commencement of Henry II.'s reign, and from this day the beginning of his regnal years. Several chroniclers, and notably Henry of Huntingdon, record the details of the King's movements from the death of Stephen to his coronation, but it is unnecessary to repeat their statements here. By his accession to the throne the county of Anjou passed into the dominion of England, and so remained until Philip Augustus, King of the French, wrested it in 1203 from the hands of King John.

Let us now turn to the seals themselves. The seal Henry employed as Duke of Normandy, before his accession to the throne, is not very unlike the ordinary type of English and French equestrian seals of the middle of the twelfth century. There are two fragmentary impressions in the original wax, in the de-

partment of manuscripts in the British Museum, numbered XXXV. 19. n., a detached seal; and Harley Charter 84. c. 3. The charters of this duke being very rare, I have taken care to have it transcribed here for future comparison. It is a confirmation by the Duke of the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary, at Bitlesden in Buckinghamshire, by Ernaldus de Bosco.

Harley Charter, 84. C. 3.

[Parchment Label.]

. Henricus . dux Norm̃ . et Aquit̃ . et Comes And̃ . Omnibus Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . et Omnibus Amicis . et fidelibus suis Normannicis . et Anglis salutem . Sciatis me concessisse . et confirmasse donationem illam quam Ernaldus de Bosco fecit deo et Monachis de ordine cisterciensi de Manerio de Betlesdena cum omnibus appendiciis suis ⁄ Ad fundandam ibidem abbatiam ordinis Cisterciensis . et de tribus carrucatis terre in Sigeresham que vocatur Marieland ⁄ et quicquid ad eas pertinet . et totam terram de Witefeld et de Dodeford et quicquid ad illas pertinet . et totam terram de Westcote et terram Osberti de Wanci . et Willelmi de Bolebec . Scilicet Blacaham et quicquid ad illas pertinet . et confirmo omnia illa que eis in elemosina data sunt vel que ipsi mercati sunt . Quare firmiter precipio quod supradicti Monachi predictas terras bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice teneant et habeant in perpetuam elemosinam in bosco . et plano . in pratis . et pascuis . et omnibus aliis rebus et locis . cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus eisdem terris pertinentibus . sicut alie ecclesie ejusdem ordinis sive in anglia Sive in Normannia ⁄ melius et liberius tenent . et volo et firmiter precipio ut sint quiete de sciris . et de hundretis . et placitis et

querelis . et occasionibus . et auxiliis . et operationibus . et murdris . et denegeld . et omnibus aliis geldis . et hidagiis . et omnibus consuetudinibus corone mee pertinentibus . Et precipio quod Monachi qui ibidem deo serviunt bene et in pace libere et quiete teneant . quietas et solutas omni seculari servitio . Ne aliquando aliquis inde requirat consuetudinem ullam . Testibus . Roberto Comite legecestrensi . Ernaldo de bosco . Gisleberto de Laceio . Hugone de Pir^{9} . Wigano de Walengef[ord] . Roberto de Juvineio . Godefrido de quatremar̃ . Herveo Marescallo . Apud legecestr̃iam.

Endorsed:—" Confirmatio . ducis . Henrici "
" de Bytlesden "
" pour un Chefiõ de Bytlesdeñ."

The seal, as far as may be gathered from the two imperfect fragments which alone I have been able to examine, shows a figure of the duke in a hauberk of chain or ring mail, mounted on a war horse turned to the right, whose trappings consist of saddle, saddle-cloth, stirrup, and girths. On the reverse of this seal the figure of the King is repeated, also in a hauberk of mail, holding a shield, and armed with a plain goad or prick spur, mounted on a horse to the right, caparisoned with a peytrel, or breast band, saddle, saddle-cloth, girths, and stirrups. The word . . . GRACIA . . . alone remains of the titular inscription set forth upon the seal. I do not find this particular seal type has ever been engraved. Sandford, whose *Genealogical History* cannot be too highly praised, gives an illustration of a seal of Duke Henry, which varies a little in unimportant ways from this British Museum type. This author gives the legend thus:

✠ HENRICUS : DUX : NORMANORVM :
ET : COMES : ANDEGAVORVM

After the duke's accession to the throne we find:—

1. A seal of King Henry so closely resembling the seals of Stephen and Henry I., in style, design, and treatment of work that to it must be ascribed the first place, although there is not, as far as my research goes, a single instance of its appension to any charter which would afford a clue to its d This type was first brought to light by the late Doubleday, whose perambulations throughout land in search of seals led to the collection of a number of the specimens of these ancient art re But unfortunately he omitted, or I should say, f to perceive the necessity of keeping a record of documents or of the locality from whence he obt his casts. On the obverse is the king with robes, bordered and embroidered cloak, open c of three fleurs-de-lys with two hanging strap fastenings depending from it at the ears. I right hand he holds a broad sword, in his l wand or orb surmounted by a cross and an eag a dove, the emblems of strength or of peace. is seated on a cushioned and carved throne, w has no backpiece, but is adorned with panels small arches or arcades of moulding, his feet re on a footboard similarly ornamental. The legend

✠ HENRICVS ⁂ DEI ⁂ G . . . . . ⁂ REX ANGLORVM.

The reverse of this seal shews us the figure of King habited in a coif, hauberk, and chausses of armour, of rings interlaced strongly together. has on his head a conical helmet with *nasale* or fac projection; round his neck a strap, eyed or ring

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into the inner surface of his oval shield which he holds in his left hand by the *guige* or *enarme*. In his right hand he holds a long and broad sword erect, the point upwards towards his head, the blade deeply channelled. The horse is caparisoned with a saddle and saddle-cloth, a poytrail and globose pendent ornaments which are so well marked on the seals of antecedent kings. The remainder of its harness consists of bridle, reins, and bearing bit or curb. The legend is,

✠ HENR̸ : DEI : GRA̅ : DVX : NORM ..... M : ET : AQVIT̅ : ET : COM̅ : ANDEG̅.

The diameter of this seal is three inches and a half.

2. The seal, which is by far the most common of the two established types of this King's seals, and not altogether unlike the first seal of the succeeding monarch Richard I., is somewhat larger than the one already described, and although it contains the same details, and is undoubtedly intended for a copy of the first matrix, yet has been treated in a stiffer and so to speak less original way. The pendent earpieces are wanting in the obverse, the legend of which is :—

✠ HENRICVS : DEI : GRATIA : REX ANGLORVM :

The reverse equally bears the same details as the preceding type, but here too the treatment is very poor and constrained, and the general look very meagre, while the whole bears the impress of a Byzantine art gradually sinking lower and lower into its inartistic depths, before the new life about to be infused into it by the vitality of the Gothic element had been applied

to it. There is one peculiarity very noticeable in this seal, it is the fraying or orfrey of the saddle cloth which is absent from the archetype already described. The legend is:—

✠ HENRICVS : DVX : NORMANNOR̄ : ET AQVITANOR̄ : ET : COMES : ANDEGAVOR̄.

The diameter of this type is three inches and five eighths.

There are no less than nineteen original impressions of this seal among the unrivalled collections in the British Museum of which I have made a table shewing the limits of date afforded by the internal evidence of the document. Their texts form a magnificent codex of documents never yet laid before the world in the form they here present to the Society.

	Reference.	Date between.	Seal.
I.	Cotton Charter, XI. 14.	1154–1159	light greenish white wax.
II.	Harley Charter, 111. B. 49.	1142–1160	white varnished brown.
III.	Harley Charter, 84. C. 4.	1154–1162	brownish green.
IV.	Additional Charter, 19593.	1154–1163	greenish white.
V.	Additional Charter, 19591.	1154–1163	pale green.
VI.	Harley Charter, 43. C. 18.	1155–1163	green.
VII.	Harley Charter, 43. C. 23.	1167–1169	white.
VIII.	Cotton Charter, II. 5.	1154–1170	brownish white.
IX.	Harley Charter, 43. C. 25.	1165–1171	brown, a very fine seal.
X.	Harley Charter, 43. C. 20.	1164–1174	white.
XI.	Cotton Charter, XI. 5.	1167–1175	dark green.
XII.	Harley Charter, 43. C. 22.	1154–1177	brownish red.

	Reference.	Date between.	Seal.
XIII.	Additional Charter, 16188.	1175–1181	red wax.
XIV.	Harley Charter, 43. C. 24.	1175–1187	greenish brown.
XV.	Additional Charter, 19592.	1174–1189	uncoloured.
XVI.	Additional Charter, 19606.	1173–1194	pale red.
XVII.	Additional Charter, 5719.	date not determined.	brown, in very fine preservation.
XVIII.	Harley Charter, 111. B. 48.	date not determined.	brown.
XIX.	Detached Series, XXXV. 1.	date not known.	light brown.

Speed, in the "Historie"; Sandford's *Genealogical History*, pl. 54. f. 3, 4; the *British Museum Photographs* by C. Harrison, pl. 954. ff. 3, 4; Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, vol. i. The *Trésor de Numismatique, Sceaux des Rois, etc.*, pl. iii.; and the Appendix to Report of Record Commissioners, with many other works, give illustrations of this seal.

I.

Cotton Charter, XI. 14.

A.D. 1154–1159.

[Seal appended by a Strip Label.]

Grant to Wido Lestrange of Alvinelegham, co. Salop, for half a knight's service.

. Henricus . Rex Angl . et Dux Norm̃ . et Aquitañ . et Comes And̃ . Episcopo Cestrensi . et Justiciariis . et Baronibus . et Vicecomitibus . et Ministris . et Omnibus fidelibus suis de Salopescyra : Salutem . Sciatis me dedisse Widoni Extraneo in feodo et hereditate Aluinelegham que solebat mihi reddere in firma mea . c . et x . Solidos . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod ipse et heredes sui eandem terram teneant cum omnibus pertinentiis suis de me et de heredibus

meis bene et in pace libere et quiete et honorifice per servitium dimidii militis . testibus . Waltero Episcopo Cestrensi. Ricardo de Humetis . Conestabulario . Manñ Biset Dapifero . Ricardo de Luci . Ricardo de Campvilla . H . de Oillj Conestabulario . Apud Notingeham.

II.

Harley Charter, 111. B. 49.

A.D. 1142–1160.

[Parchment Label.]

Grant of temporalities to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury.

. Henricus . Rex Angl et Dux Norm̃ et Aquit̃ et comes And̃ . Episcopis . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . Ceterisque suis fidelibus francis et Anglis in Omnibus Comitatibus in quibus Teobaldus Archiepiscopus et monachi ecclesie xp̃i Cantuarie terras habent ⁊ Amicabiliter . salutem. Notum vobis facio me concessisse Teobaldo Archiepiscopo et monachis Cantuarie omnes terras quas tempore Regis . Edwardi et Regis Willelmi proavi mei et Regis . Henrici . avi mei habuerunt et Sacha et Socne . On strande et Streame . On wude et felde . tolnes et theames . et grithbreches et hamsocne . et forstalles . infangenesthiofes . et flemenefrimtha . super suos homines infra Burgos et extra . in tantum et tam pleniter sicut proprii ministri mei exquirere . deberent . et etiam super tot theines ⁊ quot eis concessit Rex Willelmus proavus meus . Et nolo ut aliquis hominum se intromittat nisi ipsi et ministri eorum ⁊ quibus ipsi committere voluerint . nec francus . nec Anglus . propterea quia ego concessi xp̃o et ecclesie Cantuarie et archiepiscopo et monachis suis has libertates et consuetudines pro redemptione anime mee et pro animabus antecessorum meorum . Et nolo pati ⁊ ut aliquis eas infringat ⁊ si non vult perdere amiciciam meam . Testibus Philippo episcopo Baiocensi . et Arnulpho Episcopo Lexoviensi . et Theo .

Cancellario . et Reginaldo Comite Cornubie . et Roberto. Comite Legrecestrensi et H . de Essexa constabulario . Apud Eboracum.

. H . thurh godes gefu ænglelandes king gret ealle mine bissceopas aud ealle mine eorlas and ealle mine scirerevan and ealle mine theinas frencisce and englisce . on than sciran the Teobalt ercebiscop aud se hiret æt xp̃es chyrchen on Cantuarabirg habbad land inne freondlice and ic kethe eow thet ic hebbe heom geunnon thet hi beon ælc thare lande wurtha the hi eafdon en Edwardes kinges dege . and on Willelmes kinges mines further ealdefader . and on Henrices kinges mines ealdefader . and saca and Socne . on stronde and on Streame . On wudan . and on feldan . tolles and theames . grithbriches . and hamsocne . and forstalles . and infangenesthiafes . and fleamene frimtha . ofer heore agene men . binnan Burgan and Butan . swa ful and swa ford swa mine agene Wicneras . hit sechan scolden . and ofer swa fele theinas swa ich heom to leten habban . And ic nelle thet eni man enig thing . ther . . . n theo . butan hi and heara wicneras . the hi hit bitechan . willath . ne frencisce ne englisce . for than thamgan the ich habbe criste thas gerichtan forgifan minre Saule to eche alisendnesse, and ic nelle gethanian that enig man this abreche bi minan fullen frenscipan . God geau gehealde.

Endorsed:—" Carta regis . Henrici . ii . de sacha et socne "

j.

III.

Harley Charter, 84. C. 4.

A.D. 1154–1162.

[Strip Label.]

Confirmation of the foundation Charter of Bitlesden Abbey by Ernaldus de Bosco.

Henricus Rex Angl̃ et Dux Norm̃ et Aquit̃ et Comes Andeg̃ . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Comitibus . Baronibus .

Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . et omnibus Amicis . et fidelibus suis . Norm̃ . et Angł . Salutem . Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse donacionem illam quam Ernaldus de Bosco fecit deo et monachis de ordine cisterciensi de manerio de Betlesdena cum omnibus appendiciis suis ⁊ ad fundandam ibidem abbatiam ordinis cisterciensis . et de tribus carrugatis terre in Sigresham que vocatur marieland ⁊ et quicquid ad eas pertinet . et totam terram de Witefeld . et de dodeford . et quicquid ad illas pertinet . et totam terram de Westcota . et terram osberti de Wanci . et Willelmi de Bolebec . Scilicet Blachaham . et quicquid ad illas pertinet . Et confirmo omnia illa que eis in elemosina data sunt . vel que ipsi mercati sunt . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod supradicti monachi prefatas terras bene . et in pace . libere . et quiete . et honorifice teneant et habeant in perpetuam elemosinam . in bosco . et in plano . in pratis . et pascuis . et omnibus aliis rebus et locis . cum omnibus libertatibus . et liberis consuetudinibus . eisdem terris pertinentibus . sicut alie ecclesie ejusdem ordinis . sive in Anglia . sive in Normannia . melius et liberius tenent . Et volo et firmiter precipio ut sint quiete . de Sciris . et hundredis . et placitis . et querelis . et occasionibus . et ausiliis . et operationibus . et murdris . et danegeldis . et omnibus aliis Geldis . et hidagiis . et tholoniis . et omnibus consuetudinibus corone mee pertinentibus . Et precipio quod monachi qui ibidem deo serviunt bene et in pace . libere et quiete teneant . quiete et soluti omni servitio seculari . Ne quis aliquando inde consuetudinem ullam requirat . Testibus . Thoma . Cancellario . R . Comite Cornubie . Comite Legrecestrie . Roberto de dunstanville . Ernaldo de Mandeville . Hugone de Perr̃ . Roberto de juveinni . Godefrido de quatremar̃ . Galfrido abbate . Ivone de Harueẽ . Herveio le marescał . Reginaldo de bordigni . Willelmo de diva . W . de la haia . apud westmuster .

Endorsed :—" Magna Confirmacio Henrici Regis."

IV.

Additional Charter, 19593.

A.D. 1154–1163.

Grant of the Manor and Church of Eston to the Abbey of Reading.

[White Bobbin.]

Henricus . rex Angł . Dux Norm̃ et Aquiť . et Comes Anđ . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . et Omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis francis et Anglis ⁄ Salutem . Sciatis me pro animabus Henrici regis illustris avi mei ejusque uxoris . Matildis regine avie méé . et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum . et mea . in perpetuam elemosinam presenti carta confirmasse deo et Sancte Marie et monachis meis de Radinḡ . Estone . Manerium meum in Herfordshire . cum omnibus appendiciis suis . et cum ecclesia ejusdem ville . ita bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice et plenarie tenendum . In boscis et planis et pasturis . In stagnis et aquis . piscariis et molendinis et omnibus aliis rebus ad idem manerium pertinentibus . sicut melius et liberius et quietius aliquid tenent ex dono Henrici regis avi mei et meo . Sint que homines ejusdem ville liberi et quieti de Siris et hundredis et omnibus placitis et querelis . de auxiliis et careagiis . et omnibus exactionibus de Theloneis et passagiis . et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus habeantque omnem libertatem quam habent vel habere debent homines de Radinge vel Ceals' ex concessione Henrici regis avi mei vel mea . Testibus . Domina Imperatrice . Philippo Baiocensi episcopo . Reginaldo Comite . Roberto de Novo Burgo . Manaser Biset . Dapifero . Jocelino de Balliolo . Roberto de Curci . Thoma de Sancto Johanne . Driu de Munci . Willelmo de Crevecuer . Willelmo de Angervilla . et . G . filio pag' . Apud Rothomagum .

Endorsed :—Carta Regis . Henrici secundi . de confirmacione Manerii De Estona . et . de libertate hominum ejusdem ville .

V.

Additional Charter, 19591.

A.D. 1153–1163.

[Plaited thread.]

Grant of various Liberties and Possessions to Reading Abbey.

Henricus Rex Angl et Dux Norm̃ et Aquit̃ et comes Andeg̃ . Omnibus Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Justiciariis Baronibus . vicecomitibus ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Totius Anglie Salutem . Sciatis me In perpetuam Elemosinam concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse deo et sancte Marie et Monachis de Radingis Omnes terras et Tenuras quas Rex Henricus avus meus eis dedit et Concessit . videlecit Totam villam de Radingia cum Ecclesiis et terram quam Robertus de Ferrariis in eadem villa habuit . et liministriam cum ecclesiis et Capellis et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus . Et tacheham et Chelseiam cum centum solidis quos Willelmus filius Geroldi reddebat de firma predicto Regi Henrico avo meo . Et Wicheberiam cum Ecclesia Ejusdem ville . Et Rokintune cum Ecclesia Ejusdem ville . et Wigestanam que fuit terra Willelmi Elemosinarii . Et terram Roberti sacerdotis de Hamtona . et terram Albodi de Hoctona . et hidam terre de Undesoura . Preterea Concedo eis et Confirmo quicquid post mortem Regis Henrici . avi mei eis dedit et Concessit in Elemosinam domina mea Imperatrix scilicet Bleberiam et Henredam . et terram Herberti filii Fulcherii de Merleberga . Et Ecclesiam de Berchelaia cum Omnibus pertinentiis suis . Et Ecclesiam de Stantona cum pertinentiis suis . Et Ecclesiam de Tacheham cum omnibus pertinentiis suis . Et ex dono predicti Regis . Henrici . avi mei Concedo eis et Confirmo unam

feriam ad festum sancti Laurentii . scilicet ipsa die sancti Laurentii et per tres dies sequentes . Et monetam cum uno Monetario apud Londonium . vel apud Radingiam . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod Monachi predicti habeant et Teneant In perpetuam Elemosinam hec Omnia supradicta cum Omnibus pertinentiis suis soluta et quieta de Theloneo . et Passagio . et Pontagio . et Omni Geldo et Danegeldo et omni alia exactione et consuetudine . In bosco et plano In Pratis et Pascuis In aquis et Molendinis. In viis et semitis . In vivariis et Piscariis et Marischis Infra Burgum et Extra et In omnibus locis et In Omnibus rebus . Et sint Ipsi et terre sue et homines eorum soluti et quieti Theloniis de Sciris et hundredis et Placitis et omnibus querelis . Sintque Abbatis et Monachorum ejus de hominibus suis et de Tota possessione sua et de alienis in ea forisfacientibus vel ibi cum forisfacto interceptis : Hundreda et Placita omnia cum socca et saca et Toll et Team et Infangenethef et utfangenethef et Hamsocna Infra Burgum et Extra Burgum . In viis et semitis et In omnibus locis cum Omnibus Causis que sunt vel esse possunt. Habeantque abbas et Monachi Radingie In tota Possessione sua . omnem Justiciam de assaltu et furtis et Murdris et de sanguinis effusione et Pacis infractione et de omnibus forisfacturis quantum ad Regiam pertinet potestatem. Et teneant ita bene et In pace et libere et quiete et honorifice sicut Rex . Henricus . avus meus unquam melius et liberius et quietius tenuit In suo proprio dominio . et sicut ejusdem Regis . Henrici . avi mei Carta testatur . Et sicut eis testatur Carta domine mee Imperatricis et mea. Testibus . domina Imperatrice . Et Philippo Baiocensi Episcopo . Et Comite Reginaldo . Et Roberto de Novo Burgo . Et Mañ Biset Dapifero . et Stephano de Bello Campo . Apud Rothomagum.

Endorsed:—" Carta Regis Henrici . II . gestatoria de libertatibus."

VI. Harléy Charter, 43. C. 18.

A.D. 1155–1163.

[Parchment Label.]

Confirmation of various Possessions and Privileges to the Præmonstratensian Abbey of Neuhus, co. Lincoln.

Henricus . Rex Anglie et Dux Norm̃ et Aquit̃ et Comes Andeg . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . justiciariis . Comitibus . Baronibus et omnibus ministris et Balivis et omnibus hominibus et fidelibus suis francis et Anglis Salutem . Sciatis me dedisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse deo et Abbatie Sancti Marcialis de Neuhus et Abbati Gerloni et Canonicis ibidem in ordine premonstratensi deo servientibus ad sustentationem eorum ut ibidem in servitio dei permaneant Ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis de Glenteworthe et ecclesiam Sancti Helene de Kernigt̃ que sunt de meo demenio cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro anima Henrici Regis avi mei et aliorum antecessorum meorum Regum Anglie et pro salute anime mee et pro statu Regni mei et pro salute filiorum meorum et recepi in meam propriam manum et custodiam et protectionem et defensionem ipsam Abbatiam et Abbatem et canonicos et fratres et Sorores et homines eorum et servientes et terras et possessiones et omnes res suas sicut dominicam et specialam elemosinam meam in perpetuum . Preterea concedo et presenti carta mea confirmo omnes donationes que rationabiliter date sunt predicte abbatie et de cetero dabuntur et quas per se vel per alios rationabiliter adquirere poterunt . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod jam dicti canonici omnes terras suas et tenuras et omnes possessiones suas et homines suos habeant et teneant bene et in pace . libere . et quiete . integre . et plenarie . et honorifice . in bosco . et plano . in pratis et pascuis . in aquis et piscariis . in marescis . et Turbariis . in Molendinis . et Stagnis . in Toftis . et Croftis . in viis et semitis . in Civitate . et Burgo . in foris . et nundinis quorumcunque sint . in transitu pontium . et

Maris portuum . et in omnibus locis . et per omnes terras meas sint quieti tam ipsi quam homines sui . de Teloneo et Pontagio . et Lestagio . et Stallagio . et Hidagio . et Wardis . et operibus Castellorum et Pontium . et Parcorum . et Sumagiis . et de omnibus Geldis . et Danegeldis . et fengeldis . et Horngeldis . et Peñingeldis . et Misericordiis . et forisfacturis . et auxiliis . et Wapentaciis . et Hundredis . et Thrithingis . et Schiris . et Murdre . et de omnibus auxiliis vicecomitum . et ministrorum suorum . et Scutagiis et Assisis . et Summonitionibus . et Tallagiis . et de omnibus occasionibus . et consuetudinibus . et de averiis suis in Namum capiendis . et de omni terreno servitio et seculari exactione . Habeant predicti Canonici curiam suam . et justiciam . cum sacha . et Socha . et Tol . et Them . et infangenetheof . et cum omnibus aliis libertatibus . Et siquis versus predictos canonicos de tenementis suis aut rebus suis aliquid clamaverit . seu eos in aliquo vexare . vel in placitum ponere voluerit . prohibeo ne pro aliquo respondeant . nec in placitum intrent . nec aliquis eos placitare faciat . nisi coram me . vel coram capitali justicia mea. Testibus . Philippo Episcopo Baiocensi . Rotro Ebroicensi Episcopo . Frogero archidiacono . Galfrido Regis capellano . Willelmo de Sigillo . Willelmo fratre Regis . Comite Hugone . Willelmo Comite de Arundel . Ricardo de luci . Ricardo de Humez constabulario . Ricardo de Camvilla . Hugone de Baiocis Apud Andelium.

VII. Harley Charter, 43. C. 23.

[Parchment Label and Green Silk Plaits.]

A.D. 1167–1169.

Grant of Cutiford to the Monastery at Farley, co. Wilts.

. Henricus . Rex Angl . et Dux Norm̃ . et Aquit̃ . et Comes And̃ . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . et Omnibus Ministris et fidelibus suis francis et anglis totius anglie . salu-

tem . Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse Ecclesie de ferlea et Monachis ibidem deo servientibus totam terram de Cutiford quam Walterus de Dunst̃ et Alanus frater suus eis rationabiliter concesserunt et dederunt in perpetuam Elemosinam pro salute anime sue et pro anima Roberti de Dunst̃ avunculi sui cum omnibus pertinentiis suis . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicta Ecclesia et Monachi ejusdem loci habeant et teneant totam predictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et plano . in pratis et pasturis . in aquis et Molendinis . in Viis et Semitis . et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad eandem terram pertinentibus ita bene . et in pace et libere . et quiete . plenarie . et integre et honorifice . cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis : sicut Walterus de Dunst̃ et frater suus Alanus et ipse Robertus etiam avunculus eorum illis dederunt et cartis suis confirmaverunt . Testibus . Rotro Archiepiscopo Rothomagensi . et Jocelino Episcopo Saresberiensi . et Hilario Episcopo Cicestrensi . Comite Willelmo de Mandevilla . Willelmo Malet dapifero . et Willelmo de Curci . Willelmo de Hastingẽ . apud Cenom*anum.*

Endorsed :—Henrici Regis de Cutiford.

VIII.

Cotton Charter, II. 5.

A.D. 1154–1170.

[Strip Label.]

Grant of Common between Bischeleia and Frammingeham to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Norwich.

. Henricus . Rex Angl̃ . et Duc Norm̃ et Aquit̃ . et Comes And̃ . Vicecomiti suo de Norfolcia . Salutem. Precipio quod Ecclesia Sancte Trinitatis de Norwico Teneat

bene et in pace et Juste et libere Communem Pasturam suam que est inter Bischeleiam et Frammingeham sicut melius et quietius tenuit tempore Regis Henrici . avi mei . et sicut dirationatum est per homines hundredi . Et nisi feceris . Justicia mea faciet fieri . teste . Toma Cancellario . Apud Sanctum Edmundum.

Endorsed:—∴ A. xxvj . . H. primi de pastura inter framig̃ et bischet.

IX.

Harley Charter, 43. C. 25.

A.D. 1165–1171.

[Diapered Bobbin of various colours.]

Grant of land at Gaitune to the Abbey of Kirkstede.

. Henricus . Rex Angl . et Dux Norm̃ . et Aquit̃ . et Comes And̃ . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . et omnibus Ministris et fidelibus suis totius anglie . salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse ecclesie Sante Marie de Kirkesteda et Monachis ibidem deo servientibus duas carucatas terre et dimidiam in Villa de Gaituna quas Comes Conanus eis dedit in elemosinam ⁄ cum ecclesia ejusdem Villa . et illam dimidiam carucatam terre in eadem Villa quam Comes Conanus retinuerat in manu sua eo tempore quo eis dederit predictas duas carucatas terre et dimidiam cum ecclesia ejusdem Ville . sed postea illam dimidiam carucatam terre eis concessit de se tenendam pro . xx . solidas inde annuatim reddendos . sibi vel heredibus suis. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicti Monachi hec predicta habeant et teneant cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in pratis et pasturis . In bosco et plano . In aquis et Molendinis . In Viis et Semitis . et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad ea pertinentibus cum

omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis . ita bene . et in pace . et libere . et quiete . plenarie . integre . et honorifice ⁄ sicut carte Comitis Conani quas inde habent testantur. Testibus . Johanne Decano Saresberiensi . Ricardo de Humetis Conestabulario . Ricardo de Canuilla . Willelmo Malet Dapifero . et Willelmo de Hastingẽ. Apud Guinganp .

Endorsed :—" III. 9. Gaytoñ . Kirkstede."

X.

Harley Charter, 43. C. 20.

A.D. 1164–1174.

[Parchment Label.]

Confirmation of Land at Hamma to the Monks of St. Mary at Stratford.

. Henricus . Rex Angl . et Dux Normñ . et Aquit . et Comes And . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . Ministris . et Omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Anglie . salutem . Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse pro anima Willelmi fratris mei ecclesie Sancte Marie de Straffort et Monachis ibidem deo servientibus quadraginta solidatas terre in Hamma quas Willelmus frater meus eis dedit in perpetuam elemosinam . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod prenominata ecclesia et Monachi habeant et teneant predictas . xl . solidatas terre cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in pratis et viis et semitis et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad easdem pertinentibus . ita bene . et in pace . libere . quiete . plenarie . integre . et honorifice . cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis sicut Willelmus frater meus eas illis dedit et carta sua confirmavit . Testibus . Gilleberto Episcopo Lundoniensi . Gaufrido Archidiacono Cantuariensi . Ricardo

Archiepiscopo Pictaviensi . Comite Gaufrido . Ricardo de Luci . Gilleberto de Monfichet . Hervico de Monte Moric[9] . apud Oxen[ford].

Endorsed:—" cofta j^a. Confirmatio Regis Henrici secundi super xl solidatas terre in hamma quas habuimus ex dono fratris ejus in perpetuam elemosinam." " R R. n°. 3°."

XI.

Cotton Charter, XI. 5.

A.D. 1167–1175.

[Parchment Label.]

Grant of the hundred of Angre [? Ongar, co. Essex] to Richard de Luci.

. Henricus . Rex Angl et Dux Norm̃ et Aquit̃ et Comes And ⁄ Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . Ministris et Omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Anglie . Salutem. Sciatis me dedissise et concessisse et presenti Carta confirmasse Ricardo de Luci et heredibus suis hundredum de Angr̃ ⁄ videlicet quicquid in hundredo illo habeo . ipsi et [heredibus suis] tenendum de me ⁄ et de heredibus meis. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod ipse Ricardus de Luci et heredes sui post eum . hundredum illud habeant et teneant . bene . et in pace . libere . et quiete . Integre . et plenarie et honorifice . sicut illud ipsis dedi ⁄ et hac carta mea confirmavi . Testibus . Johanne Decano Saresberiensi . Johanne Archidiacono Bathoniensi . Comite Willelmo de Mandevilla . Reginaldo de Curtenai . Willelmo de Lanual . Roberto de Briwecurt . Apud Beauuéeir super Moirā .

XII.

Harley Charter, 43. C. 22.

A.D. 1154–1177.

[Strip Label.]

Confirmation of the lands of the late Robert fitz-Walter to his Son William.

. Henricus . Rex Angł . et Dux Norm̃ . et Aquit̃ . et Comes And̃ . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Vicecomitibus . et Omnibus Fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis . et Ministris suis . In quorum ministeriis Robertus filius Walteri de Windresor̃ habuit terras die qua fuit Vivus et mortuus ⁄ salutem. Sciatis me Concessisse et Confirmasse Willelmo filio Roberti predicti totam terram patris suj unde saisitus fuit die qua fuit Vivus et mortuus . quam tenuit de rege Henrico . avo meo . In capite . et de quocunque eam tenuisset. Et volo et firmiter precipio ut bene et In pace et honorifice et quiete teneat ipse et homines . suj infra Burgum et extra . In Bosco et plano . In aqua et extra . et Omnibus aliis locis . cum Soca et saca et Toll et Team . et Infangenetheof . et cum Omnibus aliis Consuetudinibus suis . cum quibus pater suus . vel aliquis antecessor suus umquam melius et honorificantius et quietius tenuerunt . testibus . Comite Reginaldo . R*oberto* . Comite legecestrensi . H*ugone* . Comite de Norfolcia . H. de Essexa Constabulario . Ricardo de Humetis Constabulario Joceo de Bailloł. Apud Westmonasterium. ;

XIII.

Additional Charter, 16188.

A.D. 1175–1181.

[Thick white leather label, the seal enclosed in a diaper cloth bag.]

Confirmation of various liberties and privileges to Christ Church, Canterbury.

Henricus . dei gratia Rex Angł et Dux Norm̃ et aquit̃ .

et comes And̄ . Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus . et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis salutem . Sciatis quod ad honorem dei et pro redempcione anime mee et patris et matris mee et Regis . Henrici . avi mei et antecessorum meorum . presertim ad honorem sancte Trinitatis et omnium sanctorum qui requiescunt in Ecclesia Christi cantuarie concessi et confirmavi eidem Ecclesie omnes possessiones et libertatis quas proavus meus Rex Willelmus et Rex . Henricus . avus meus eidem Ecclesia concesserunt et confirmaverunt . Preterea dono eis et concedo et hac carta mea confirmo has libertates . scilicet Geld . et Denegeld . Hidagium. Pecuniam pro murdro . Opus pontium . Castellorum . Parcorum . Clausurarum . Auxilium pecunie pro exercitu . Warpeni . . . . [ch]ildwite . per omnia dominia Archiepiscopi et monachorum ⁊ et Willanagia . Volo eciam quod . . . . villanagia sint libera et quieta de siris et hundredis et lestis hundredorum . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod ipsa ecclesia Christi Cantuarie habeat et teneat omnes predictas libertates sicut supra determinatum est cum terris et omnibus possessionibus suis ⁊ bene et in pace . libere et quiete . Integre . et plenarie . et honorifice . In bosco . et plano . in pratis et pasturis . in aquis et molendinis . In vivariis et stagnis et piscariis . et Mariscis . In viis et semitis . et in omnibus aliis locis . et [aliis] rebus ad eas [pertinent]ibus cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis sicut eidem Ecclesie concessi ⁊ et hac carta mea confirmavi . Testibus R. Wintonensi . G. Heliensi . I. Sarisburiensi . Henrico Baiocensi . R. Bathoniensi . A. Sancti Asaph . Episcopis . Johanne decano Saresburiensi . Ricardo de Luci . Comite Ricardo de Strigoł Willelmo filio Ald̄ . dapifero . Gileberto Malet dapifero . Randulfo de Glanville . Philippo de Hastingis . Apud merleberga.

Endorsed :—" Henrici Regis ii. De Geldis . et Denegeldis . libertatibus multis. LIIII."

XIV.

Harley Charter, 43. C. 24.
A.D. 1175–1187.
[A doubtful charter of the 13th century].
[Green bobbin.]

Henricus Rex Anglie et Dux Norm̃ . et Aquit̃ . et comes Andeg̃ . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus. Justiciariis . Comitibus . Baronibus . et omnibus ministris et balivis . et omnibus hominibus et fidelibus suis francis et Anglis . Salutem . Sciatis me dedisse . et presenti carta mea confirmasse deo et Abbatie Sancti Marcialis Apostoli de Neuhus . et canonicis ibidem in ordine premonstratensi deo servientibus ad sustentacionem eorum ut ibidem in servicio dei permaneant ecclesiam sancti Michaelis de Gientteworthe . et ecclesiam sancte helene de Kirningtun . cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in puram . et perpetuam elemosinam pro anima Henrici regis avi mei . et aliorum successorum meorum Regum Anglie . et pro salute anime mee . et pro statu regni mei . et pro salute filiorum meorum . et recepi in meam propriam manum et custodiam . et protectionem . et defensionem ipsam Abbatiam . et canonicos . et fratres . et sorores . et homines eorum . et servientes . et terras . et possessiones . et omnes res suas sicut dominicam et specialem elemosinam meam in perpetuum. Preterea concedo et presenti carta mea confirmo omnes donaciones que rationabiliter date sunt predicte Abbatie . et de cetero dabuntur . et quas per se vel per alios rationabiliter adquirere poterunt. Quare volo et firmiter precipio . quod jam dicti canonici omnes terras suas . et tenuras et omnes possessiones suas . et homines suos habeant . et teneant bene . et in pace . libere et quiete . integre et plenarie . et honorifice in bosco et plano . in pratis et pascuis . in aquis et piscariis . in mariscis et turbariis . in Molendinis et Stagnis . in Toftis et Croftis , in viis et semitis in Civitate et Burgo . in foris et Nundinis quorumcumque sint . in transitu pontium . et maris por-

tuum . et in omnibus locis . et sint ipsi et omnes homines sui quieti per totam terram meam de omni theloneo de omnibus rebus quas ipsi canonici vel homines sui possunt assecurare quod emant vel vendant ad proprios usus canonicorum ipsorum vel hominum ipsorum . et de pontagio . et lestagio . et Stallagio . et Hidagio . et Wardis . et operibus Castelorum . et Pontium . et Parcorum . et Sumagiis . et de omnibus Geldis . et Danegeldis . et fengeldis . et Horngeldis . et Peninggeldis . et Misericordiis . et forisfacturis . et auxiliis . et Wapentaciis . et Hundris . et Thrithingis . et Schiris . et de Mudre . et de omnibus auxiliis vicecomitum et ministrorum suorum . et Scutagiis . et Assisis . et Summonitionibus . et Tallagiis . et de omnibus occasionibus et consuetudinibus . et de omni servitio et seculari exactione excepta justicia mortis et Membrorum . Habeant predicti canonici curiam suam . et justiciam . cum sacha et socha . et Tol et Them et infangenetheof . et cum omnibus aliis libertatibus . Et si quis versus predictos canonicos de tenementis suis . aut rebus suis quas habent in liberam elemosinam aliquid clamaverit . seu eos in aliquo vexare . vel in placitum ponere voluerit : prohibeo ne pro aliquo respondeant . nec in placitum intrent . nec aliquis eos placitare faciat nisi coram me . vel coram capitali justicia mea ; Testibus . Gileberto Lundoniensi . Johanne Norwicensi episcopis . Willelmo de Mandavile . Willelmo de Albem[arle] Comite . Johanne Comin . Hugone de Nunant . Ricardo thesaurario domini regis . Randulfo de Glanville . Reginaldo de Curtenei . Thoma Basset . Rogero de Glanville . Thoma de Husseburne . apud Wintoniam.

XV.

Additional Charter, 19592.

A.D. 1174–1189.

Grant of Royal Protection to the Abbey of Reading.

[Strip label].

Henricus . dei gratia Rex Angl̃ . et Dux Norm̃ et Aquit̃ et Comes And̃. Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus et Omnibus

Ballivis suis in quorum balliis Monachi de Radinḡ terras habent:⁄ Salutem. Precipio vobis quod custodiatis et manuteneatis et protegatis terras et homines et omnes res et possessiones Monachorum de Radinḡ sicut meas proprias. ita quod nullam molestiam vel injuriam aut gravamen eis faciatis . nec fieri permittatis . quia omnia sua sunt in manu et custodia et protectione mea. Et prohibeo ne de ullo tenemento quod in dominico suo teneant:⁄ ponantur in placitum nisi coram me vel coram Capitali Justicia mea. Teste . G[alfrido] . Electo Elyensi Episcopo . Apud Windesoram.

Endorsed:—"Carta Regis . Henrici . secundi de protectione:⁄"

XVI.

Additional Charter, 19606.

A.D. 1173–1194.

[Green and red silk strands.]

Award between the Monks of Reading and the Monks of Gloucester, concerning the Church of Chamma, or Camma, in Wiltshire.

[Henricus] dei gratia Rex Angł et Dux Norm̃ et Aquit̃ et Comes Anđ:⁄ Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . ab[batibus .] Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vice-comitibus . Ministris . et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Anglie⁹ [salutem.] Sciatis me concessisse et presenti Carta mea confirmasse pacem et finem factum coram . B[artholmaeo] . et. J[ohanne] . Exoniensi et Cicestrensi Episcopis. inter Monasterium et Monachos de Radinḡ . et Monasterium et Monachos Gloecestrie . de controversia et lite que assistentibus Canonicis Sancti Augustini de Bristow̃ et aliis competitoribus Monachorum de Radinḡ vertebatur Inter eadem Monasteria et eosdem Monachos de Ecclesia de Camma et omnibus ejus pertinentiis . Videlicet quod assensu

meo et predictorum Episcoporum qui ex mandato domini . pape . Alexandri tercii in controversia illa fuerant Judices delegati . Inter predicta Monasteria et Monachos in eis deo servientes ita convenit . quod Monasterium Gloecestrie pro bono pacis et nomine transactionis pro memorata controversia et querela perpetuo terminanda ⁊ soluet annuatim Monasterio de Radinḡ sex [Marcas] argenti . tres ad Pascha et tres ad festum Sancti Michaelis . quarum medietatem percipient Cano[nici] Sancti Augustini de Bristowa per manus Monachorum de Radinḡ . Tenebit autem Monasterium [Gloecestrie] predictam Ecclesiam de Camma cum omnibus pertinentiis suis de me in capite sicut propriam elemosinam meam . salva Monachis de Rading predicta sex Marcarum solutione a Monasterio Gloecestrie facienda . Ita quod et Monachi de Radinḡ sex illas Marcas tanquam propriam elemosinam meam perpetuo percipiant et possideant . Id etiam compositionis tenori adjectum est ut ad prenominatæ Ecclesiæ de Camma pertinentias revocandas que ei subtracte sunt . aut a quibuscunque detente ⁊ Monachi de Radinḡ coadjuvantibus Canonicis Sancti Augustini . consilium et auxilium Monachos Gloecestrie karitative et socia[liter impen]dant . Debent etiam Monachi Gloecestrie predictorum Canonicorum Sancti Augustini de Bristow̃ super[memo]rata compositione quantum in eis est fideliter firmiterque servanda ⁊ Cartam confirmationis [habere] . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod hec pax et concordia et finis factus inter supradicta Mon[asteria] et Monachos de prefata ecclesia de Camma et omnibus pertinentiis suis . stabilis sit ⁊ et inconcuss[e] [teneatur.] testibus. Comite Willelmo de Manñ. Roberto Comite Legrecestrie . Fulcone Paienello . Rogero de [Stutevilla.] Roberto de Stutevilla . Willelmo de Stutevilla . Gaufredo Pertic . Willelmo filio Ald . Dapifer . Apud.* . . . . . .

Endorsed :—Carta Regis Henrici secundi de pace et fine inter monachos Radinḡ . et monachos Gloecestrie super Ecclesia de Chamma . et ejus pertinentiis."

* See the *Reading Chartulary*, Harley MS. 1708, f. 24b, and *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx. p. 295.

XVII.

Additional Charter, 5719.

Grant of Gnaresburg to William de Stuteville for the service of three knights.

[Green bobbin, diapered].

Henricus . dei gratia Rex Angl. et Dux Norm̃ . et Aquit̃ . et Comes And̃ . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . et Omnibus Ministris et fidelibus suis francis et anglis tocius Anglie: salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et presenti Carta confirmasse Willelmo de Stutevilla pro servitio suo Gnaresburg et Burg cum omnibus pertinentiis suis tenenda sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis per servitium trium Militum . Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod Willelmus de Stutevilla et heredes sui post eum habeant et teneant predictas villas cum omnibus pertinentiis suis per prenominatum servitium. In bosco et plano . In Pratis et pasturis . In aquis et Molendinis . In Piscariis . et Vivariis . In Viis et semitis . et In omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad easdem pertinentibus . bene . et In pace . et Libere et quiete . Plenarie et Integre et honorifice . cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis . Testibus . Ricardo de Luci . Hugone de Creissi . Randulpho de Glanvilla . Bertramo de Verdun . Willelmo filio Radulphi . Willelmo Basset . Roberto de Vallibus . Roberto Pirenot . Rogero de Stutevilla . Roberto de Stutevilla . Reginaldo de Lucj . Ricardo de Aufaj . Radulpho Britone . Willelmo de Scalariis . Apud Wudestoch.

Endorsed :—" H. Rex pro kenareburg."
" per le service del feo de treys chevalers."

XVIII.

Harley Charter, 111. B. 48.

Grant of Fautewell to the Abbey of Belbec.

(Parchment label sewed with a thong).

Henricus . Rex Angl' et Dux Norm̃ et Aquit' et Comes Andeg̃ . Episcopo Norwicensi . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciariis . Vicecomitibus . Ministris . Baillivis . et omnibus fidelibus suis de Norfolcia et' de Sudfolcia . salutem . Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse Ecclesie Sancte Marie et Sancti Laurentii de Belbecco et Monachis ibidem deo servientibus terram de Fautewella quam Hugo Talebot eis donavit in elemosinam ita libere et quiete et rationabiliter habendam et tenendam :' sicut carta sua eis testatur. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicta ecclesia et predicti Monachi predictam terram habeant et teneant cum omnibus pertinenciis suis bene et in pace . libere et quiete . plenarie et Integre . rationabiliter et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad eam pertinentibus :' sicut Carta predicti Hugonis testatur. Testibus . Magistro Gaufrido Ridello . Gilone arch' . Man[asse] Bis [et] Dapifero . Reginaldo de Gerpunvilla . Apud Rothomagum.

Endorsed :—" De terra de fautewella . x."

3. In addition to these two known seals of Henry II. there is an impression of an obverse, and another of a reverse, which have never yet been figured, and for a view of these two to-day the Society is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Ready, a kindness which it has frequently before this occasion experienced. Of the origin of these independent seals nothing is known for certain, beyond a tradition that the obverse impression, which is here exhibited, is from a leaden matrix

found in an advanced stage of corrosion. An examination and comparison of it with the obverse of the second genuine great seal shows that their similarity is very close indeed, but this is in all respects larger, the inner diameter of the genuine seal being exactly three inches, that of this doubtful obverse being fully three inches and a quarter. The soft outlines of the drawing, which impart to the genuine seal that conscious feeling of twelfth century glyptic art, are here graved out prominently, and betray an utter want of skill in the manipulation of the matrix, which must, from its want of character, be declared to be a spurious seal. The question naturally arises whether the seal, in its shape before us to-day, is a forgery of modern times, or of ages more remote. There are, perhaps, indications which would lead to the supposition that this is a fabrication of some monastic forger in a century not very far removed from the reign of Henry II. How the seal fabricator constructed this matrix on such an excellent proportion, while he was quite unable to reproduce the relief of the design, it would be idle to conjecture, beyond the probability that an impression was taken of a genuine seal, but in a material which expanded at least to one-thirteenth or .075 larger than the seal it was made to supersede.

The legend is,

HENRICVS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORVM.

4. Strange to say, a type of the reverse of the second seal is also in existence, which appears to have been called into being under circumstances very similar to those I have detailed in the case of the separate

obverse. The two, however, cannot make up one complete seal, for the inside diameter of the field of this reverse is only three inches, whereas that of the obverse is a quarter of an inch broader. The same remark respecting the execution of the seal which I made in the case above, apply to this also. The legend is like that of the second genuine type, but with an N added in the fifth word.

✠ HENRICVS : DVX : NORMANNOꝝ : ET : AQVITANNOꝝ : ET : COMES : ANDEGAVOꝝ :

Having now touched upon the salient points in the history of the seal of Henry II., let us turn to his son, Prince Henry, by historians and chroniclers entitled *Henry III.* and *Henry Junior.*

He was born in 28 Feb. 1155, affianced in 1159 to Margaret, only daughter of Louis VII. king of France, and crowned king in 15 July, 1170, at Westminster, by Roger Archbishop of York, and again in 1173, at Winchester, by Rotro, Abp. of Rouen, under circumstances which, as they are matters of well-known history, need no remarks on this occasion. There is a curious treatise entitled "Histoire de la Guerre que suscita le Roi Henri le jeune à son père Henri II., Roi d'Angleterre, pendant les années 1173, 1174, en vers, par Jordan Fantosme." This Jordan Fantosme was one of the clerks of Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester and Spiritual Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester. Hardy, in his *Catalogue*, ii. 404–406, relates some unimportant matters concerning him. There are apparently but two manuscript copies of this work extant, one at Durham (c. iv. 27. 3), the other at Lincoln (H. 18. 3),

which was edited by M. Francisque Michel, in 1840, for the Surtees Society. Hardy's *précis* of the contents of the MS. states that it is addressed by the writer to Henry II., "in a way which would lead to a supposition that he was well known to him; and if he was not a northern man, he was at least a resident or occupied in that part of the kingdom during the events he describes, and seems to have been well acquainted both with the places and persons who are mentioned. He probably composed his work very soon after the war ceased, as there is no mention that Henry the younger was not then living, which is hardly likely had it been written after his death, which happened in the year 1183; nor does he incidentally mention any circumstance subsequent to the period of which he treats."

Another treatise, not universally known, and by an author of whose history nothing is recorded, although it has just been printed for the first time by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, among the Master of the Rolls series, entitled "De Morte Henrici, filii Regis Henrici Secundi, auctore Thoma Agnello, Wellensi Archidiacono," exists in a twelfth century manuscript in the Bodley Library. Laud 71 or 1100, folio 118b. Of this the editor says, "The brief narrative will be read with interest, since it furnishes us with a contemporaneous account of an event which deeply moved the feelings of England and France at the time when it occurred, and exercised no trifling influence upon the history of these two kingdoms. It gives certain minute details respecting the death of Henry in 1183, and proceeds to narrate the circumstances connected with his interment, first at Le Mans and subsequently at

SEAL OF KING HENRY, JUNIOR.

(OR HENRY THE THIRD, SON OF KING HENRY THE SECOND.)

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Rouen." "For," as Sandford quaintly remarks, "as he had been twice crowned, so was he twice buried, and not without trouble; as if the factions of which he was the cause in his life, did, by a kind of Fate, not forsake him being dead."

"This little history," says Stevenson, "written with considerable taste and feeling, is the production of a warm partisan of the young king, Thomas Agnellus, Archdeacon of Wells, who embodied it in a sermon which he preached in commemoration of young Henry. He speaks of him in terms of the highest eulogy, almost as if he were already canonized; he passes over unnoticed his various acts of disobedience and rebellion, and does not scruple to ascribe his death to the envy of his father (paricidali extinctus invidia). Some of his information, or all, was derived from Queen Eleanor, the wife of the elder Henry, and the mother of the younger, by no means a trustworthy witness upon such a subject; and although the facts here recorded may be accurately narrated, the sentiments of the writer must be received with due caution."

Diceto says, "In festo S. Barnabæ Apostoli rex junior e medio est subtractus. Corpus autem in lineis vestibus, quas habuit in consecratione sacro crismate delibutas, regaliter involutam apud Rothomagum delatum est, et in ecclesia cathedrali prope majus altare, cum honore tanto principi congruo, tumulatum."

It would be natural to imagine that very few charters issued by the authority of this young king are extant; but I have the good fortune to have found, in the Harley collection in the British Museum, one, which, from the expression *Regis*

Henrici filius in the title, points unmistakeably to this Henry who alone satisfies the condition of being a son of King Henry, for Henry I. was the son of William I., Henry the II. the son of Count Geoffrey, and Henry III. the son of King John.

Harley Charter.

84. C. 6.

H*enricus* Rex Angl*orum* et Dux Norm*annorum* et Com*es* And*egavorum* . Reg*is* . H*enrici* . Fil*ius* . Rog*ero* Foliot Sal*utem* . P*re*cipio t*ibi* q*uo*d juste Warantizes monachis de Betlendeñ t*erram* de Witefeld . q*uam* tu et heredes tui co*n*cessistis eis in elemosina*m* sicut Carta eor*um* testat*ur* . et P*ro*hibeo ne eos ampli*us* vexes *v*el vexari p*er*mittas. Et n*isi* fec*eris* ⁄ Vic*ecomes* de Bukingh*am* faciat ne in*de* ampli*us* clamore*m* audia*m* p*ro* penuria recti . t*este* . Will*elmo* de S*ancto* Joh*anne* . ap*u*d Windesh*oram* ⁄ [1]

The additional charter 17841, also in the British Museum, is an inspeximus by Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, of donations granted to the Abbot and Convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Fulcardi monte in the diocese of Rouen, in which occurs the sentence

[1] See a copy in the Bitlesden Chartulary, MS. Harl. 4714, f. 26, No. xlviij. There are also copies of several charters in MS. Harl. 391, f. 37·

confirmatio junioris.

" *Carta* Regis Henrici *tertii*."

" H. di gra . Rex Angl. 7 Dux Norm . et com . Andeg . Regis H . filius, etc."

This is a chartulary of Waltham Abbey to which Henry was a great benefactor.

Alienora, his mother, ibid. f. 51, calls him Henrici *tertii* filii nostri.

See also Cartæ Antiquæ, M. No. 4, and Add. MS. 29436, a Winchester chartulary.

"Item pro anima Henrici Regis Anglorum Junioris decimam denariorum ministerii sui de Fulcardi monte," etc.

Dated iii id. Aprilis, 1204.

Sandford figures the seal of this king which I here exhibit in form of a sulphur cast from that in the British Museum, originally made by Mr. Doubleday, but unfortunately with no record of its place of origin. This seal is of French style and work, as a comparison with other specimens shows.

The letters *N R*, *O R*, *M A*, *N N*, *M E*, *A N*, and *A V* are combined in the legend:—

✠ HENRICVS REX ANGLOR ET DVX NORMANNOR ET COMES ANDECAVOR.

Among the interesting notices in the Arundel MS. 68, in the British Museum, a register of Christ Church, Canterbury, I find at folio 33 the following:—"Item obiit Rex Anglorum Henricus secundus, pater regum Anglie *Henrici*, Ricardi, Johannis," etc. Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., gives some important accounts of King Henry Junior, in his edition of the "Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes," published in the Rolls Series in 1859.

XIV.—ON AN UNPUBLISHED CHARTER OF UHTRED OF THE HUUICCAS, IN THE POSSESSION OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF WORCESTER.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, *Hon. Librarian.*

(Read January 23rd, 1878.)

By the kindness of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, I am enabled to exhibit to the members of the Royal Society of Literature a very valuable Anglo-Saxon Charter preserved in the Cathedral Library, and I beg to offer the following notes upon it.

The Cathedral Church of St. Mary at Worcester was, naturally enough, likely to contain many muniments relating to the early and pre-reformation landed possessions of its religious and secular inmates, and we accordingly find the learned antiquary, Sir William Dugdale, compiling, in 1643, a Catalogue which the equally illustrious grammarian and *littérateur* George Hickes incorporated into his "Thesaurus," printed at Oxford in 1703, at the end of that great work. This book, the 'Thesaurus,' is supplemented by a Catalogue of all the Saxon MSS. existing in England at the time of its publication, and is entitled:—"Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Liber Alter, seu Humphredi Wanleii Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ Bibliothecis extant . . . Catalogus Historico-Criticus, etc., Oxoniæ, 1705." The

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actual Catalogue of MSS. is called "Catalogus Librorum Septentrionalium tam Manuscriptorum quam impressorum;" and at page 299, he introduces Dugdale's list of Anglo-Saxon Charters at Worcester, with the following title and notes: "Catalogus Chartarum temporibus Regum Anglo-Saxonum confectarum, quæ haud ita pridem in Archivis Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis extabant. (Hunc Catalogum texuit D. G. Dugdalius, A.D. 1643,")... Quin et intra tres aut quatuor annos in Ejusdem Ecclesiæ Archivis extabant aliæ quædam chartæ, quas quidem jam perditas feliciter publicavit D. Georgius Hickesius Gramm. Anglo-Sax."

It is not very clear what became of the fine series of one hundred and eleven early documents, for the most part relating to a period anterior to the conquest of England by the Normans. But it is certain that the late John Mitchell Kemble, when collecting materials in 1839, for his renowned 'Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici,'—a work aiming at embracing the accurate text of every known Saxon document—was not able to make use of any of these original manuscripts, but was compelled to have recourse either to late, in some instances *very* late, copies of the same deeds, or to omit them altogether.

But a short time ago the librarian of the Cathedral, Mr. J. H. Hooper, M.A., who was well aware of the former existence of literary treasures relating to his Cathedral and their unaccountable disappearance, was so fortunate as to recover a very valuable charter, which, however, I am not quite certain was ever included in the catalogue of the treasures already quoted, and it is through his agency

that we are indebted for the very rare exhibition of an original Saxon document on this occasion.

I shall commence my account of it by giving the text which I have supplied in some parts (but not throughout), where mutilated, from analogous formulæ found in two other similar documents, which will be mentioned and described further on :—

+ In nomine dñi nr̃i ihũ xpĩ, Certissime itaq; absq; dubitatione constat omnia quæ uidentur temporalia esse, Et ea q; | non uidentur æterna esse, Idcirco ego uhtredus dõ donante regulus huicciorũ cogitaui . Ut ex accepta portione terrigenis | regni a largitore omniũ bonorũ aliquid quamuis minus dignũ ꝑ remedio animæ meæ in usus æclesiasticæ libertatis eroga|[rem] . Unde fideli meo ministro æðelmundo uidelicet filio ingeldi qui fuit dux et p̃fectus æðelbaldi regis merc̃i, cum consi|[lio] et licentia offani regis meī Simulq; episcoporũ ac principũ eius, Terrã . v. tributariorũ Id ⁊ uicũ qui nominat | [eastun[1]] iuxta fluuiũ in orientale parte qui dicitur saluuerpe iure æclesiastico possidendũ libentissime ꝑ dño omnipotenti | . . . . . tenus se uiuente possideat et post se cuicũq ; uoluerit duob ; heredis relinquat Illisq; e sæculo migrantib ; reddat | . . . . . [uig] eranens æclesiæ agrũ cum libris[2] ad mensã eorũ sine ulla contradictione mihi atq ; omnib ; nobis in elemosi-[na]. . . . . tis patriæ illorũq ; intercessione ad dm̃ uiuũ et uerũ Insup̃ digno p̃tio a antedicto æðelmundo suscepto | . . . . . [sciat unusquisq ;] hanc terrã liberã esse ab omni tributo paruo ł maiore publicaliũ rerũ et a cunctis operib ; ł regis ł prin|[cipis praeter instructio]nib ; pontiũ ł necessaris defensionib ; arciũ contra hostes . Omnimodo quoq ; in dī omnipotentis nomi|[ne interdicimus ut si] aliquis In hac p̃nominatã terrã aliquid foraras furauerit alicui aliquid nisi specialiter p̃tiũ ꝑ p̃tio | . . . . . .

[1] Hodie Aston infra manerium Stoke Prioris : MSS. Harl. 4660, f. 3/4.

[2] A remarkable use of the word *liber* for a *charter*. A. S. *Boc*.

augentem hoc meū p̃ceptū . Omnipš dš sua augere bona In aeternū ñ cessat, Minuentē q̃d ñ | [optamus sciat se ante] tribunal xp̃i rationẽ redditurū nisi ante ea dõ et hominib; satis emendauerit, Conscripta ⁝ | [autem haec donatio anno ab] incarnatione dñi nr̃i ihũ xp̃i, dcc, lxx, Indic, viiii, decenoui, xi, Lun, viii,

[+Ego offa dei dono rex me]rc̃ hanc donationē subreguli mei ɔsensi et signū sc̃æ crucis inposui,

[+Ego Mildredus Christi gra]tia ɔcedente humilis huiccĩ ep̃ ɔseñ et suƀ.

[+Ego Uhtredus . . . . . dĩ]spensatione donante regulus ꝑpiæ gentis hanc meā libertatis donationē ꝑ dño ɔcessā ɔroborans sĩgnū salutare ɔscripsi.

[+Ego Aldredus subregulus h]uic̃ huic ɔcessæ donationi fratris mei ɔsentiendo subscribo.

[+Ego Eada conseñ et su]ƀ

[+Ego Brorda con]señ et suƀ

+Ego Eadbald ɔsenš et suƀ { [Hii sť termini donationis istius saluuerpæ cymedes halh huitun ⁄stan readan solo

+Ego[3] cyneðryð regina merc̃ ɔseñ et suƀ

+Ego ecgferð filius amborū ɔseñ et suƀ

+Ego ælfflæd filia amborū ɔseñ et suƀ

The description of this is that Uhtred, regulus of the Huuiccas, grants by permission of his superior lord and king, Offa, of the Mercians, to Æthelmund his minister (not necessarily an ecclesiastical, but probably a high political personage at his court), the son of Ingeld, who had held the office of dux or military

[3] These on the *dors*, on which also, in later hands, are

· To Eastune .

Offani regis

. i . Stoce .

. i . Stoce .

To Eastune .

leader to Æthelbald,[4] king of the Mercians (the immediate antecessor to Offa), a quantity of land specified as of fine tributaries, that is, the *vicus* which is called Eastun near the river on the eastern part which is called Salwerpe, for the ordinary Saxon holding of three lives, after which the property is to become the possession of the Church at Worcester. It was to be held on the usual terms of a free gift, that is, the repair of bridges, fortresses, and military service. The terms of these burthens upon the lands granted by kings are so interesting that the remarks of Kemble upon them may well be introduced here.

He says, "The one[5] common and unavoidable duty, called the *communis labor*, *generale incommodum*, *trinoda necessitas*, etc., was the repairing of bridges, fortifications, or other public buildings, and military service." The sentence involving these duties in the charter before us is :—"Sciat unusquisque hanc terram liberam esse ab omni tributo . . . præter instructionibus pontium, vel necessariis defensionibus arcium contra hostes." "From these no one was excused; and they were so essentially a part of the ancient and customary law of the land, that the attempt to escape from them casts well deserved suspicion upon any document in which it is found . . . It does not appear from the charter, whether these burdens, like the *corvée* of the French Feudists, were a personal service, or capable of being compounded for at a fixed sum, a kind of county rate. Whichever was the case, and perhaps both forms may have existed together, the want of any stipulation in the documents as to the amount, serves

[4] Ob. A.D. 757.
[5] V. I. p. li.

to show, either that there was a fixed and invariable proportion, or that the assessment was made pro hâc vice, by all the landowners in county court assembled, and was not dependent on the will of the grantor. It was *onus commune*, the advantages of the community superseding all privileges, even those of the clergy. But military service is not susceptible of such commutation in the early ages of a country, when the population is thinly scattered over a wide extent of ill-cultivated land."

Of Uhtred, the regulus of the Huuiccas, and the grantor of the land of Easton to Æthelmund here contained, very little is known beyond what may be gleaned from the only five charters which exist relating to him, and which I shall now refer to in order of date.

1. The first is a charter which until the last few years was in the possession of the Finch-Hattons, Earls of Nottingham and Winchelsea, and probably formed part of Sir Christopher Hatton's collection of MSS. It was purchased from Mr. Attenborough by the trustees of the British Museum in 1873, and has been facsimiled by the Museum authorities in their "Facsimiles of Ancient Charters, part ii. no. 2, 1876." From this charter it appears that three brothers, "tres germani uno patre editi, Eanberht, atque *Uhctred* nec non et *Aldred*"[6] granted land at Onnanford to Headda abbot of ? Worcester[7] in A.D. 759. They are

[6] Aldred appears as late as A.D. 777, and seems to have survived his brother [Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* cxxxi].

[7] Headda abbot, occurs in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, no. cv., February, A.D. 759, and is probably the same as Headda, abbot of Worcester, between A.D. 781 and 798 in Kemble, no. 169

designated each by the title of "*regulus*" in the subscription appended.

2. The second charter, as far as its general import goes, is somewhat similar to the one before us, and enables me to supply a few words that have been torn from the charter under inspection. It is printed by Kemble, in his 'Codex Diplomaticus' (no. cxvii.) dated A.D. 767, and is closely allied to this newly-found document in much of its text. Kemble, however, does not appear to have seen the original; but he prints from an eighteenth-century copy in MS. Harl. 4660. f. 3/4. entitled "Cartarum aliquot Pervetustarum quæ extant in Archivis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorn. Apographa." In the list of contents of this Harley MS., the charter of Kemble's Codex, no. cxvii. is called "4. Uhtredi reguli Huuicciorum Æthelmundo ministro," and is the same as that one numbered as (4) by Hickes in his Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS. already quoted. The title of this lost charter is noticed by Hickes as "Carta Donationis qua dat Uhtredus Regulus Huuicciorum fideli suo Ministro Æthelmundo (filio Ingeldi qui fuit Dux et Præfectus Æthelbaldi Regis) cum consensu et Licentia Offani Regis Merciorum, simulque Episcoporum et Principum ejus, terram 5 Tributariorum, *i.e.* vicum qui nominatur Eastun juxta fluvium, in [*loco*] qui dicitur Saluuarpe, A.D. 76 (*sic*). Indict. 6, Lun. 5." The text is not only given in the 'Codex Diplomaticus' and in the Harley MS. quoted above, but also in Hickes' 'Grammatica Anglosaxonica,' p. 170, and in Dugdale's 'Monasticon Anglicanum' vol. i. p. 586.

From inspection of the text of this second charter it is certainly not the same as the one restored to

Worcester. The date, and the list of witnesses, being very dissimilar to those of the original charter exhibited on this occasion.

3. There is also another charter which bears yet closer resemblance to the one under our immediate attention. It is described by Hickes in the Catalogue of Worcester Charters already referred to, as "4. Uhtredi Reguli Huicciorum de Eastun prope Salewarpe, A. 770, confirmata per Offam regem. *Sax. et Lat.*" This, also, apparently was never seen by Kemble, who only gives it from the eleventh or early twelfth century Register of Worcester Charters, in MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. xiii. ff. 145, 146. "De Stoke." Kemble Cod. Dipl. no. cxviii. But this charter is a grant of the land to the brethren of the Monastery of Worcester, and not to Æthelmund, although it is couched in very nearly the same words, and supplies some words for the restoration of the text of the charter exhibited on this occasion. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude, that very shortly after the granting of this land to Æthelmund, the text of which grant I am enabled to describe here for the first time, the grantee granted it to the brethren of Worcester.

Kemble unfortunately omitted the boundaries of the land hereby conveyed,[8] which I here supply to complete the history of the transaction. For although the charter is not quite identical with that which I exhibit, yet the property mentioned is apparently the same, and the statement of the boundaries is valuable not only to the county topographer, who can by its means catch up the positions of lost places and ex-

[8] In Anglo-Saxon, and thus bearing out the description *Sax.* et *Lat.*, by Hickes.

plain the names of modern localities, but it is also of very great importance to the philologist; and as it has never yet been printed it adds a fresh contribution to the corpus of Anglo-Saxon texts.

"Ærest fram mýðam in cýrstel mæl ác. Of cýrstel mæl ac in east ende teoue lege. Of teofe leage in þæt sýrf treop. Of þam sýrf treope in þ rug̃ mapel treop in forpeard perdune. Of forepeard perdune oð midde pearde per. Of midde perdune in perdun broc. Of midde per dune broce in middan pearde langan dune. Of middan pearde langan dune in sceap peg. Of scearp peg̃ in hpæta leage. Of hpæta lege in hens broc. Of hens broce in salparpan. Of seal parpan in holan peg. Of þam peg̃ in ða-hpitan biricean. Of þære birican in alcherdes ford. Eft of salparpan in þa ifihtan ac. Of þære ac in þa mær ac. Of þære ac in bennic æcer. Of þam æcere in cærsa bæt. Of þam bæte in pipan. Of pipan in piði broc. Of þam broce in þæt þruh. Of þā þrug̃ in holan peg. Of þam pege in bridenan brýgge. Of þære brigge in cumb. Of þam cumbe in ale beardes ác. Of þære ac in þa heort sole. Of þære sole in þa þisle. Of þære ðisle eft in ða mýþan."

4. The fourth document is a charter of Uhtred, the text of which is given by Kemble in his 'Codex Diplomaticus,' no. cxxviii., but it has been marked by him as of doubtful authenticity. It has no date, but the editor of that monumental work is probably not far from right in assigning to it a date between the years 764 and 775. The document is a grant by Uhtred, "Subregulus Huicciorum" of land to Worcester Cathedral "Ecclesia Beatæ Semper Virginis Dei Genitricis Mariæ, quæ situ est in Uegerna civitate ubi corpora *patrum meorum* digne conduntur." The subscription of Uhtred is appended with that of Aldred

his brother, to whom reference has already been made. The original of this is not now extant and Kemble gives it only from the Worcester Register in the Cottonian Library, a manuscript the date of which has already been pointed out.

5. Before proceeding to examine the charter before us from its artistic and palæographic points of view, it is worthy of record that in addition to these above-mentioned charters which are grants from Uhtred himself direct, there are the following charters in the *Codex* where he is mentioned or where his subscription is appended, in testimony or confirmation of their purport.

1.	"Uhtred."	K. cii.*, a doubtful charter of Eanberht of the Hwiccas, A.D. 757.
2.	"Uhtred regulus."	K. cv., a charter of Eanberht, Feb., 759.
3.	"*Manus* Uhtredi."	K. cxi.*, a doubtful charter Offa of Mercia, A.D. 764.
4.	"Uhtred." "Uhtredi Germani Mei."	K. cxxv., a charter of Aldred of the Huiccas, A.D. 757 x 775.
5.	"Uhtred Subregulus."	K. cxxvii., a charter of Ceolfrith, Abbot of Worcester, A.D. 757—775.

To recapitulate therefore the important points which have been elicited in the course of these notes, we have found the following facts relating to Uhtred, subregulus of the Hwiccas, viz.

(1.) That Eanberht, Aldred, and Uhtred, were three sons born to one father, and that the father and ancestors were buried in Worcester Cathedral.

(2.) That Eanberht, the eldest brother, grants various charters to Worcester Cathedral, in the years 757 and 759.

(3.) That Uhtred, the third brother, is not styled *regulus* in 757; but is styled *regulus* in 759 in two documents: is not styled *regulus* in 764; but styled *regulus* in 767, and again in 770; and *subregulus* in a charter of date between 757 and 775.

(4.) That the second brother, Aldred, appears to have been the survivor of the three in A.D., 777.

(5.) That of the five documents purporting to have been issued directly at his command, two only are extant in the form of *charters*, the other three being only found in manuscript Registers of far later dates.

(6.) Of these two, one is in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, numbered as Additional Charter 19789; the other is that at present before us, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester.

(7.) That the one before us is unpublished, and the boundaries which probably related to the same land, when registered to the Cathedral, are also unpublished.

There is a photograph published by the British Archæological Association in the *Journal* for 1876, p.

190, of a charter which is a grant of Offa to his faithful *minister* Æthelmund, the same probably as the grantee of the Worcester deed. This is to be dated in all likelihood between 791 and 796, and is valuable as showing close resemblance of handwriting to the one before us.

The principal points, exhibited by the analysis of the palæography of this valuable relic of our Saxon Age, are as follows:—

The words are divided by spaces; prepositions and conjunctions only being sometimes, but not always, united to the words following them, as in the case of "exaccepta," in line 2; "etp̃fectus," in line 4; "addm̃" for "ad deum," line 9; "premedio," line 3.

The formation of the letters is long and fine, and the peculiar style of the handwriting here employed is seen on other charters deriving their origin from the Mercian court at this remote period. Of individual characters—

a has the usual plain but elegant form of the letter.

æ is of frequent use, not divided into two letters.

b is plain, but the tip of the up-stroke is cut off obliquely with a short spur pointing downwards.

c is well rounded and of ordinary shape. A large initial C occurs in "Certissime," line 1; and "Conscripta," line 14.

d has two forms, (i.) the most frequent has an oblique up-stroke as seen in "dux," line 4; (ii.) the other form is composed of an open loop and straight line, as seen in "dñi," "dcc," and "decenovi" in line 15. There is a large form of d in "Idcirco," line 2.

e has the central bar rather above the middle of its curve; it frequently is of enlarged proportions and projects above the line, and is sometimes conjoined to the following letter by means of an elongation of the bar.

f is of the usual Saxon form, the horizontal bar being level with the base line of the writing. There is a bolder form in filius, lines 23, 24.

g is also of the ordinary Saxon shape, the bar flat at the top, the body curving to the left at first, and finishing with a curve to the right below the line.

h has its long arm cut off at top obliquely, with a short spur pointing downwards.

i has two forms, (i.) plain, (ii.) carried below the line as in "cunctis," line 10; "omnipotentis," line 11. There is a large initial I in "Idcirco," line 2; "Id," line 5.

k does not appear.

l is cut off obliquely at top with a short spur: (ii.) a larger and fuller form carried below the line, as in "Illisque," line 7; etc.

m has two forms, the first plain; (ii) in the second form the final curve is more boldly marked, as in "omnibus," line 8. There is a large initial M in Minuentem, line 13.

n has also occasionally a form similarly emboldened.

o appears to be formed of two curving lines. There is a large initial O in "Omnimodo," line 11.

p has its straight stroke cut off obliquely at the top with a short spur pointing downwards, the loop is open at the lower part, and ends with a dot.

q is of plain shape.

r has the Saxon form, consisting of a long stroke produced below the line and a curved line brought down to the lower line bounding the writing.

s is mostly found in the form of a long uncial letter, extending somewhat above and greatly below the line; (ii.) It occurs as a capital of Roman form in "*Simulque*," line 5.

t has a curved line with horizontal bar; (ii.) in some cases, but not always, final *t* has the bar greatly prolonged, as in "emendaverit," line 14. There is a large initial T in Terram, line 5.

u is of ordinary shape, but a large form is seen in "Ut," line 2, and a still larger form in "Unde," in line 4.

v occurs in numerals "v," line 5; "viii," and "viii," line 15.

x has a long loop on the left, as seen in "ex," line 2.

y is not dotted in "cymedeshalh," line 20; cynedryð, line 22.

The ligatures, or combinations of two or more letters into a compound form of more or less arbitrary shape include the following. The combinations of *e* with other letters are very numerous, and in these cases the bar is oblique and otherwise modified, for example,

ec in "profectus," line 4;

aec in "sæculo," line 7.

eg in "ego," line 2; "regulus," line 2; "subseguli," line 16; etc.

ei in "eius," line 5; "mei," line 16; etc.

em in "temporalia," line 1; "remedio," line 3; etc.

en in "videntur," line 1; "terrigenis," line 2; etc.

eo in "eorum," line 8.

ep in "suscepto," line 9.

er in "certissime" line 1; "terrigenis," line 2; "voluerit," line 7; etc.

aet in "æterna" line 2.

es in "Esse," line 2; "intercessione," line 9; etc.

et in "et" line 1; 5; "videlicet," line 4; etc.

ex in "ex," line 2; etc.

fi in "fideli," line 4; but not in "filio," line 4.

–ti in two forms (i.) p̃tium, line 12, where the *i* is indicated by an elongation of the sloping cross bar of the *t;* (ii.) the second form is seen in "migrantibus," line 7, where the *i* forms a right angle with the horizontal bar of the *t;* the same style is seen in "pontium," line 11.

–tio– in "contradictione," line 8;" "p̃tio," lines 9, 11.

–tion– in "dubitatione," line 1; "portione," line 2; "rationem," line 14; "incarnatione," line 15; "donatione," lines 16, 18; "dispensatione," line 18, etc.

–titioni in "donationis," line 20.

–tis in "satis," line 14; "gentiś," line 18; "libertatis," line 18.

ni in "termini," line 20.

The contractions and abbreviations are rather numerous. Examples occur of

ā, or ã for –am final, in terram, lines 5, 10, etc.

–b; for –bus, in duobus, line 7; omnibus, line 8, etc.

ꝯ for con– at commencement of words, as in consensi, line 16, etc.

dĩ for dei, line 11.

dm̃ for deum, line 9.

dñi for domini, lines 1, 15.

dño for domino, line 6.

dõ for deo, lines 2, 14.

đ for the Saxon ð in æđelmundo, æđelbaldi, line 4; æðelmundo occurs in line 9; and cyneđryð in line 22, and ecgferð, in line 23.

ē for –em final, in rationem, line 14.

⸗ for est, lines 5, 14.

ep̃ for episcopus, line 17.

huicc̃i for huicciorum, line 17.

ihũ for ihesu, lines 1, 15.

indic̃ for indictione, line 15.

ꝫ for vel, line 10.

luñ for lunatione, line 15.

mer̃ for merciorum, line 5.

merc̃ for merciorum, line 22.

merc̃i for merciorum, line 4.

ñ for non, line 13.

necessaris for necessariis, line 11.

nr̃i for nostri, lines 1, 15.

p̃ for præ–, in p̃fectus, line 4; p̃tio, line 9, etc.

ꝑ for pro, lines 3, 6, 12.

p̃pter for propter.

q; for que, line 1.

qđ for "quod," line 13.

ꝯ for –tur, at ending of words, as nominatur, line 5, reddatur, line 7.

sc̃æ for sanctæ, line 16.

st̃ for sunt, line 20.

sub̄ for subscripsi, line 17.
ɔsen̄ for consensi, line 17.
ũ for –um final, in lines 3, 16, etc.
xpĩ for Christi, lines 1, 14, 15.

The middle comma is of frequent use for the punctuation, both in the middle and end of a sentence.

The fine plate which accompanies this notice has been reproduced by the Autotype Company by their permanent process, from the original charter.

XV.—ON THE ETYMONS OF MUSICAL TERMS.

BY W. A. BARRETT.

(Read June 27th, 1877.)

MUSIC has been described as the universal language, the one medium understood in some form or another by most of the known nations of the world, savage or civilised, rude or polished.

As a knowledge of the origin of speech and language derived through root-words and idiomatic phrases enables the philologist to trace with some degree of certainty the rise, progress, and changes in many tongues, the relation they bear to a common stock, and how they may have been influenced by new admixtures in the course of ages, so it would be possible in some sort to show to what actual position of civilisation a nation may have attained, by noting the character of the musical instruments in common use. Thus, if it be admitted that instruments of percussion, such as drums, castanets, cymbals, gongs, and other rhythmical and time-marking, rather than musical or tune-making machines, are the most primitive in use among men, that people which knows no better music than that obtained from these noise producers, cannot be counted among the most cultivated

beings, while those who procure and impart pleasure by the free and skilful use of all sorts of musical instruments, are those from whom the greatest social and individual refinement may reasonably be expected. The consideration of the variety of sources from whence the several instruments which compose a modern band of music are derived, is a matter which occupies few minds among those who listen with delight to the effects produced. Yet in the performance of a symphony by Beethoven, or a prelude by Wagner, certain musical instruments are employed which represent human civilisation from its earliest dawn to its present bright noon-tide. Side by side with an instrument containing perfections or improvements suggested only yesterday as it were, is found another which was doubtless employed centuries before the records of received history began. In many instances the names by which they are known have come down to us almost without alteration, other than that arising from peculiar methods of spelling and the varieties of pronunciation naturally consequent.

More than one of the instruments are constructed upon precisely the same plan as that adopted by the people of remote ages, through whom we have received them, so that a modern orchestra like a modern language may be said to contain and preserve in general use, relics of the progress of art, and evidences of the variety of influences it has been witness of, and submitted to, in attaining its present condition. By the names as well as in the forms of musical instruments, some general and tolerably accurate idea can be formed of the history of the orchestra, and to a certain extent of the history of music. In this, as in

more important histories affecting the social and moral condition of mankind, philology is of more value to the student than fable, and it is quite as agreeable a study when the trouble of the "crooked ways of wisdom is once passed."

Although many of the instruments of music in common use can be traced to a high antiquity, and bear a modification of their ancient names, some of the titles by which they are now generally known are in many cases comparatively modern. So that if all history was silent, and we were compelled to form our judgment of the antiquity of many musical names and terms from existing names and our knowledge of the history of other nations, with very few exceptions we should be induced to believe that music and musical instruments were the productions of an age contemporary with the period of the Crusades. The titles of the musical instruments mentioned in the Bible have been supplied by translators from out of their own knowledge of existing instruments at the time they were at their work, probably with the praiseworthy design of conveying easily to the minds of those to whom they addressed themselves a sort of parallel rather than an actual description. This may have been in some sort necessary, as the majority of the instruments spoken of were even then more or less gone out of date. Some of the terms employed by the translators are also now archaic, and obsolete names have been given to things more obsolete. The imperfect character of the description in the sacred writings, is doubtless due to the circumstance that the things spoken of were at the time so well known that special details were considered needless. An-

other reason for the present obscurity is found in the names given to musical matters and instruments which are known to have little etymological connection with their use or construction.

Let me ask you to realise in your own minds, how some future philologist would fare were he to set to work to discover from the existence of the term alone, without any remaining specimen of the machine, what sort of a thing a "Broadwood grand" was. Those who read many of the musical notices in the newspapers, or who have the occasional privilege of hearing musical men converse upon their own art and its practice, will find this custom exceedingly common. As Puttenham says, "These and such other speaches, where ye take the name of the author for the thing itselfe, or the thing conteining for that which is contained, and in many other cases do as it were wrong name the person or the thing. So neverthelesse, as it may be understood, it is by the figure *metonymia*, or misnamer."

Not only in newspapers and in the common talk of musical folk, but in nearly every case where musical terms or instruments are spoken of, are there the like difficulties arising from these "misnamers." In the several translations of the Bible, the same words are so variously rendered that a great amount of chronological as well as etymological confusion arises. Instruments being spoken of which had no existence at the period at which the action described took place. As time progresses, the difficulty of settling the question of the individual character of the several examples of the three sorts of instruments which the Hebrews possessed becomes more and more difficult. The

whole matter must be abandoned in despair, "until time or circumstance shall restore" the key to the difficulty.

The stringed instruments in use among the Jews were the *Kinnor*, the *Nebel*, the *Assor*, the *Minnim*, the *Michol* and the *Schelasim*. The *Kinnor* is said by St. Jerome to have been of the figure of a Delta, and to have had twenty-four strings. In the book "Schilte Haggeborin" it is said to have had thirty-two strings, and Josephus tell us it had only ten. The Nebel has been described as possessing twenty-two and twenty-four strings.

Many writers repeat the statement that the *Minnim*, *Michol* and the *Schelasim*, the latter especially, was furnished with a neck like a modern guitar, or like the Egyptian *Nofre* or *Nefer*. This is not at all unlikely, as the Jews may have taken their musical instruments with other things from the "wisdom of the Egyptians." I confess that I am not sufficiently learned in the language of "the chosen people" to be able to say whether the terms are "misnamers" or not.

Their wood wind-instruments were called *Nekhabim* and *Chalil*, a species of flutes with, perhaps, reeds. I am inclined to the latter opinion, as I will attempt to show presently. Their trumpets were called *Keren*, which, by the way, is probably from the Greek κεράς, as the word occurs only in the later books. The *Abub*, which the Levites employed at the time of sacrifice, is said to have been another sort of Horn. The *Abub* or *Ambub* was probably of Syrian origin, as an instrument of a similar name was employed by the Ambubajæ, a company of free-living Syrian women, of whom Horace and Juvenal speak.

There was also the *Chasora* or *Chatzozerah*, a sort of trumpet, which was made by Moses according to special directions "for the calling of the assembly."

The *Ugab* was probably a species of pan's pipes, and the *Magrepha* spoken of in the Talmud was also a range of pipes said to have been played upon by means of a keyboard.

Their instruments of percussion were called *Toph*, drums or tambours with or without jingles, some struck with the hand and some with drumsticks. In this word *Toph* can be traced some similarity to the modern word *Tabor*. It may have been an onomatopæic word, "a name devised to anything consonant, as neere as we can to the nature thereof," as to say: *flashing of lightning*, *clashing of blades*, *clinking of fetters*, *chinking of money*, and as the poet Virgil said of the sounding a trumpet, *ta-ra-tant*, *tarantara*, so it be fittie for the thing he covets to expresse." We ourselves in the present day speak of an instrument with an unresonant sound as *tubby*, as we may say tabory, or tophy.

This word in a collateral sense, and, perhaps, the word *Chalul* in a more direct manner, are, probably, the only words which we have inherited from the Hebrews.

A greater number of names derived from the Greek are in constant use in music, but they are not necessarily terms which the ancient Greeks employed for the like things. Indeed many of them are fanciful terms of comparatively late introduction, springing out of the desire to assimilate modern science with supposed ancient practice. They have been accepted in some cases with that innocent confidence which

arises from imperfect knowledge, and having been once adopted without challenge, have become of standard, though inefficient and often incorrect, use. Many modern writers on music finding the ancient mention of musical instruments by old writers scarce, and their descriptions difficult to identify, have made confusion worse confounded by their praiseworthy desire to reconcile imperfections and to realise the non-existent. Thus there are numerous pictures of instruments in many books, particularly those issued about the beginning of the sixteenth century, which must have been "evolved out of the inner consciousness" of the draughtsman. These have been gravely copied without question into book after book until error has been magnified, multiplied and made permanent. Hence the difficulty of finding trustworthy help from the pictures of instruments or their descriptions in books "written expressly for the information of posterity," and the need there is for trusting to the information contained in titles or words themselves as the foundation for correct deductions. The great source from whence our knowledge of Greek music is derived is Athenæus, who lived at the close of the second or beginning of the third century of the present æra.

He collected a considerable amount of information concerning musical instruments, but he seems to have been guided by an earnest liking for, but an absolute ignorance of, the subject.

He speaks (it is true, he quotes the words of others) of the Sambuca (σαμβύκη), a high-pitched harp, as similar to the Barbitos or lyre of many strings, as a Phœnician lyre, as a magadis, and so on. The Sam-

buca is also spoken of by other writers as a pipe, a dulcimer, and as a machine for scaling walls in warfare. These seemingly conflicting and puzzling descriptions are clear enough if we remember that sambuca is derived from a word which signified something hollowed or of shell- or case-like character. The whole of the instruments above described have either a hollow tube or a resonance box. The similarity of the Latin word *Sambucus*, an Elder tree, the pith of which can be readily removed, leaving a hard shell of wood, may be borne in mind in reference to this subject.

The *Magadis* probably derived its name from its being furnished with frets (*μαγάς*, *μαγάδις*).

The name of the wood or material employed also gave names to the instrument, both in Greek and in Latin, as in the *Buxea tibia*, a flute made of boxwood, the *Calamus* or reed, from whence we derive the word *Chalameau*, *Schalmey*, or Shawm, and which word may be related to the Hebrew *Chalil* of which I have already spoken. There were pipes of lotus, laurel, palm, elder, ivory, formed of the bones of deer, of large birds (tibiæ), and the hollowed bones of animals (cornu), each of which had distinctive titles. There were also pipes named from the purposes to which they were devoted, as spondauloi, chorauloi, hippophorboi, chorikoi and others.

The method of holding the instrument in performance also gave rise to modifications of the names, as in the plagiaulos, (*πλαγίαυλος*); in Latin, *tibia obliqua* or *tibia vasca*, because it was held transversely.

The name or office of the player also helped to give a distinguishing name to an instrument, as the shell,

because used by a watchman, herald, or crier, was called κηρυξ. This name was afterwards abandoned in favour of a like term derived from the Latin Buccina (βυκανη). The shapes of certain instruments were used at times in the place of their sounds, construction, or character. Thus cymbals were called lekidoi (λεκιδοι), probably from their oval form. Other cymbals were called Oxubaphoi (ὀξυβαφοι), from their similarity in form to vinegar saucers. The Romans called the same thing acetabula.

The names of the stringed instruments of the Greeks are used more as poetical images than as being connected with things of usefulness. I am inclined to think that the names which we find in Greek and which were known to have been adopted from other nations have come to us through other channels than classical ones, and therefore as I have somewhat more to say concerning other peoples, I must reluctantly leave the Greeks and pass on to periods of history of more recent date.

There is, however, one other subject I must speak of before I abandon the ancient Greek terms employed in music. The word αὔλος, a general term for a musical pipe, like our word flute or fife, had reference to the sound made by the breath in producing the tone. The character of the sound produced, the effort made by the player, also helped to find titles for the things played upon. Thus the bombos of the Greeks, the bombard of mediæval times, and the bombardon of the present derive their names from the bumming or buzzing sounds they made. A bagpiper whose instrument made a continuous drone was humorously called βομβαύλιος. As the word comes from αὐλητής,

and βομβύν, a buzzing insect, and in which by the way we find the origin of our word Bumble-bee, we presume that the old Greeks could appreciate a pun as keenly as we do.

Music may be made by the voice alone or in combination with others, or by instruments alone or in combination with voices. Any association of voices or instruments is called a band, and although the term is generally understood in common speech, it is not to be found in Johnson's Dictionary, with its musical signification. The word is Saxon, and has no restricted but only a restricting sense.

The place upon which musical performances are given is called an Orchestra. I need not point out to those acquainted with the history of the Greek drama, that this word, like the word Chorus, has a different application to that of which it was formerly capable. This word chorus has had many meanings even in music. It has been described as "a trumpet of loud tone used by the Scottish," as "a crowde, an instrument of musyke," as a composition for a number of singers, as the burden of a song, as the mixture stop in an organ, and as the union of a number of voices for joint performance. The word "crowd," of which mention has just been made, has itself been subject to a varied and contradictory description;[1] with some it was said to be a stringed instrument with six strings, four of which were played upon by a bow,

[1] The word is Celtic in origin and means compressed, curved, or bent. *Cf.* the Irish word *cruit* as connected with harp, one side of which is bent to accommodate the strings. The Welsh word *crwth* for a fiddle whose sides are curved, and the English word *crowd* a fiddle, and in its better known form as a number of people congregated, compressed together.

and the other two played or plucked with the thumb as a drone or accompaniment. In mediæval Latin the word is written Crotta and Rota, the trilled letters standing for the gutturals of the original. Led away by the description of the drone or burden of the unstoppable strings, some have supposed the Rota to be a wheel, and to have spoken of the Crwth as a hurdy-gurdy. The name of chorus as given to the bagpipe is much easier to trace through *Cornamusa*. This is sometimes written *Cormusa*, then *Corusa*, then *Corus*, and so in time spelt chorus. This change offers an instance of how a root may become hidden by means of spelling according to sound. The application of the word to a trumpet may probably come through *Cor*, a horn.

One of the most interesting instruments in a band is the fiddle or violin. These two words have very different origins, the more ancient word fiddle relating to the manner of playing, and the word violin to the shape. The former word is supposed to be derived from *fides*, a gut-string, or *fidicula*, a small lute or cithara. The instrument being of British origin, I should be inclined to look for the derivation among old English words. It is called in German *Geige*, in old English, *jigg*, terms which relate to the "up and down" motion in playing; and the word "fiddle" means, as perhaps I need not tell you, to scratch, to fidget. The old form of the instrument was different to that with which we are now familiar, and it was not until the shape was altered that the name was changed, and the instrument was called *viola* from a supposed resemblance to a violet.

I may mention here other instances in which

names have been given according to the shape of an instrument. The *Mandoline* of Italy, one of the forms of the guitar, was so called from its resemblance to a *Mandola*, or almond, and another of the guitar family, the Portuguese *Machete*, from its likeness to a fish.

To return to the violin, it is the Tenor or larger-sized violin which is now called *viola*. The word violin is the diminutive of that term, as the word *violoncello* is of *violone* the augmentative of viola. The *violone* is called in English double-bass, not because it is of greater size so much as because the sounds it gives forth are the double or the octave lower than that which is expected or seemingly played according to the notation. Some of the double bass strings are called to this day *pistols*, not because of the noise they make, although some really believe this to be the case, but because the best strings of large size for stringed instruments were two centuries or more ago made at Pistoja, a town about 20 miles from Florence. Some of the smaller strings were called minikins, an evident corruption of the Italian word *minugia*. As for the word *catgut*, which is very rarely employed before the 16th century, I confess that it still puzzles me, for the strings are made from the intestines of the horse, the deer, and the sheep, but never from those of the cat. The only suggestion I can offer is that the word is a corruption of *cut gut*.[2] The terms applied to other stringed instruments are curious. The guitar and the lute bear names which are decidedly Eastern. In fact, there is only a difference in the manner of spelling the words and

[2] Dr. Ingleby suggests that the word is a corruption of *Calves-guts*, the name applied by Shakespeare to lute and other gut strings.

scarcely any in their form or use. The modern Egyptians call it, I believe, *gytarah barbaryeh*, the guitar of the Berbers, the people who are the direct descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the country. Here perhaps I may mention that the Persian guitar of four strings is called *tar*. The usual derivation given to the word is through the Latin cithara, which comes from the Greek *κιθάρα*. As, however, it is admitted that the Greeks derived their musical instruments from foreign sources, and only modified the titles in conformity with the genius of their own tongue, it may not be altogether unlikely that the word is Eastern in its origin.

Some of the old names for musical instruments in England point distinctly to an eastern origin. The "jocund rebeck," of which Milton speaks, is a sort of violin, derived from the *Rebab*. Both Arabian and English instruments had three strings. The *Nakrazan* of Egypt are kettle-drums, the *nagarah* an ordinary drum. In many early French and English poems the word *nakeres* is used for drums. Joinville speaks of the minstrels of the Soudan, "qui avoient cors Sarrazinois et tabours, et nacaires." In "Sir Gawain and the Green Knȳȝt," we read of

> "Trumpes and nakerys
> Much pyping per repayres."

and in "Belshazzar's Feast," also reprinted by the early English text Society, the word *nakeryn* is used in the genitive case:

> "And ay the nakeryn noyse, notes of pipes
> Tymbres and tabours, talket among
> Symbales and sonetes swaxed ȝe noyse."

Chaucer also used the word *nakerers* in his "Knight's tale," and in Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes," a payment is recorded to "Janino le Nakerer," as one of the minstrels to King Edward II.

The similarity of the word Tambour, a pulsatile instrument, with that of the *Tamboura* a stringed instrument, has led to some confusion in the description given by those who trust to hearsay, or who have a desire to describe things about which they have no special knowledge, a practice somewhat common to travellers. The Tamboura is found in Hindostan, Persia, Asiatic Turkey, and Egypt. The ancient Egyptians called it *nofre*, "a name which through the language of the Copts, has been said to be identical with *Nebel*." The *Nebel asor* of the Psalmist implies a ten-stringed Nebel, but we cannot positively declare that the *nebel* was a *tamboura* because of the identity of the name.

Another instrument which we have derived from the East is the bagpipe, and the old English name *symphony* is the nearest equivalent our old writers could offer to the Arabic word *zummarah* or *zummarah bi-soan*, probably transmitted to us through the Italian word *zampogna*. The Spanish word *gaita* for a bagpipe is almost the same as the Arabic word *ghaïda* for the same thing.

The word *bi-soan* connected with *zummarah*, which indicates the drone or bass note of the bagpipe, is doubtless the origin of modern word bassoon. In old writings the word *Buzaine*, *Buisine*, is used to describe the same instrument which in the middle ages was more generally known by its common name of *Courtal*, *Bombard*, or *Wait*. This last word has reference to its

use by the town minstrels, musical watchmen, or waits. The word *Bombard* to its buzzing tone, and the word *Courtal* to its form shortened for the convenience of the player. The bassoon in its extended length would be exceedingly awkward for the performer to hold, it is therefore folded as it were together, and this peculiarity gives rise to the English name courtal and the Italian *fagotto*, which means a bundle, a faggot.

While on the subject of bass instruments, I may mention that the word ophicleide comes from two Greek words signifying keyed serpent, the instrument being an improvement upon the old serpent, so named from its form, which was also curved for the accommodation of the player.

The word *Trombone* is an augmentation after the Italian manner of the word *tromba*, a trumpet, the trombone having at one time been known as the bass trumpet. The mechanism of its slide is the same as that of the ancient Sackbut, a word compounded probably of *succu*, to shake, and *book* or *buk*, the Eastern word for a trumpet. John Thomson in his "Etymons of English words," connects one part of the word with *sack* or bag, but I doubt if this is correct, as the bag or sack had never anything to do with the construction or form of the sagbut. The word *Sabeca*, a stringed instrument in the English version of the Bible, is translated sackbut. The derivation of the Oboe, I confess, still gives me a considerable amount of trouble. In English it is spelt Hoboy or Hautboy, which means nothing in particular other than that it is applied to an instrument of a certain, though sometimes, when badly blown, of an uncertain, tone. The Germans

spell the word as the old musicians of the early part of the 18th century did, changing the final y into e. This makes it, with the exception of the aspirate letter, identical with the Italian, and it is probable that the word comes to us through Italy. Here I may note that the Italian word is spelt alike in the singular and in the plural, and in this there may be said to be some sort of connection between it and the English word *waits*. The *waits* were originally a band of *oboe*, *hoboys*, or hautbois. This singular plurality, or this plural singularity, might be taken to show the connection between the English and the Italian terms if any advantage would arise. In Spanish the instrument is called *Chirimias*, also plural, and the similarity of this word with *Chirimoya* a pear, may possibly refer to the bulb-like, pear-shaped top in which the mouth piece is inserted. The old German word *birn* now used for mouth-piece, and meaning also a pear, has been applied to the *hoboy* or *oboe*.

This word mouth-piece reminds me of a another word *hoboy* as applied to strawberries of elongated form, pear-shaped if you will.

These are the facts; the connecting link is still lacking to complete the chain of deduction.

The meaning of the word *Clarinet* is simple. It is a diminutive of *Clarina*, because Christopher Denner, the man who improved the old Shawm into the *Clarinet* fancied the tone was like a small trumpet. With this in mind, I am inclined to object to the introduction of the letter *o* into the word which makes it *clarionet*, not wrong perhaps, but still not right.

The word *flute* comes from the Latin *flo*, the word whistle from *fistula*, the letters *wh* standing for the *f*,

a very common transition. The word *fiasco*, so dreadful to the ears of operatic managers and artists, also comes from this word *fistula*. I need not, perhaps, remind those among my audience who remember their classics, that the *fistula pastoricia* was sometimes blown in the ancient theatre as an indication of dissatisfaction. This custom still exists in Italy. The hollow pipes of keys, or small whistles of a shrill tone, called in English cat-calls, serving the purpose of the ancient pipe. This fistula had a bulbous end, like the *hoboy* of which I have already spoken, and was called *fiasca*, which also means a flask, a thing blown. The German word for a *flagelet*, by the way, is *flaschinet*. Those unfortunate beings who had excited the wrath of the "dii minores alteri" were blown upon, and their efforts received *colla fiasca*, and by that common process to which I have before referred, "the misnamer" of master George Puttenham, the cause was put for the effect, and the registration of the failure by the name of the thing which received it. Before I leave the subject of wind instruments I will speak of the word *bugle*, which has an interesting derivation. It is said to be from the word *bowgle* or *bougle*, a bull—an animal which is still called in some parts of England, a *budl*—on the ground that the earliest bugles were made of *bull's* horns. The word for the curved shape of the horn may have formed the old English word *buge*, which means curved or bent; the head of a bishop's crozier was called the *bugle*, and the staff itself, the *bugle-rod*; the handle of a kettle, basket-handles, and a peculiar sort of bead, are also called bugles.

The word bull suggests the Harp, not quite *apropos des bottes*, or after the fashion of the one-storied gen-

tleman who always introduced his only anecdote by asking his audience if they heard the report of a gun, but because the negroes of Senegambia call their harp *boulon*. That the harp comes from the East is not doubted. Vincentio Galilei, the father of the great astronomer, states in 'Dialogo della Musica,' 1581, that the Irish invented the harp. That this is not quite correct, the modern discoveries at Egypt and Nineveh will sufficiently show. They may have retained it as a relic of their Eastern civilisation. At a very early period in history the Irish possessed the harp, and were also noted for their skill in performing upon it. They had four kinds, namely, the *clarseach*, the Keirnine, the *cionar cruit*, and the *creamtine cruit*.

The first, the *clarseach*, also called *telyn*, was like the modern harp; its name probably suggested that of the *claricord*, a keyed instrument of a character similar to a modern pianoforte; the second, the *keirnine*, was a sort of Dulcimer, like in name and form to the Turkish *canun;* the third, the *cionar cruit*, had strings stretched over a resonance box, and so gives value to the statement that the Welsh *crwth*, *chrotta*, or *rota* was neither a bagpipe nor a hurdy-gurdy; and the form of the fourth, the *creamtine cruit*, was still more like the more modern *crwth* or *crowd*.

The derivation of the word is still a matter of doubt, for none of the various names supply the needful etymological root. Du Cange in his "Glossary" asserts that the word takes its name from the Arpi, a people of Italy, who, as he says, first invented it. Arpi is mentioned by Livy as an Apulian city of high antiquity. It is not at all improbable that the people of Arpi were the first who adopted the instrument

upon its introduction into Italy, and as it is not at all unlikely that the Northern people learned the use of the harp from the Romans, who may have assigned the invention to the people from whom they derived it, the name may thus have accompanied the instrument. The name has a common origin, from its similarity, Harpe, Harp, Harfe, Earpe, and Arpa, in most European tongues. There is evidence enough in music to show that the name of a people may give a permanent modern title to an instrument of high antiquity. The words *Kinnor* (Heb.) *Bouni*, *Saun*, *Chang*, *Tunk*, *Boulon*, *Ombi*, *Nanga*, *Pektis*, *Simikion*, *Epigonion*, *Phorminx*, *Cithara*, *Clar-seth*, *Telyn*, and *Harp*, do not appear to have the least affinity one with the other, yet each describes in a different tongue exactly the same thing.

I mentioned incidentally just now the connection between the words *clarseach* and *claricord*. The *claricord* was the precursor of the *Virginals*, an instrument so called, not because, as some say, it was played upon by Queen Elizabeth, or because of its feeble tone, and it was held to be a great virtue in a woman to "speak small," but because each key was connected with a *virge* or *virga* or rod. The Harpsichord and the Pianoforte explain their own origin and meaning through their titles.

Of the terms employed in the performance of music much could be said, but as I do not desire to be tedious, I will only speak of one or two among the most striking, those which seem to imply "a strange contradiction."

The word *clef*, as you know, means a key; but the *clef* is not always an indication of the key in modern

music. Sharps and flats are employed for this purpose. In older music no variety of key tonalities were employed, and the clef, shifted up or down on the stave according to convenience, really was "a key" as to the kind of voice required to sing the part. The names of the notes also present some strange thoughts, for example, the longest note now used is called *brevis*, and one of the next longest *minim*, from *minimum*; the *crotchet*, which should be according to its name, *hooked*, has a perfectly plain stem. We talk of a *finale* in the middle of a work and of a concluding *Overture*. We call a sad and melancholy harmony in parts, a "Serious Glee," and think it a strange title because we have lost sight of the original signification of the term, which doubtless meant union or combination, either of voices or harmonies. There are other apparently contradictory terms in music, many of which cease to be absurd when we know their etymons. But time warns me to "make an end" of my paper, though the subject is by no means exhausted. In obedience to that warning I will offer a few words by way of a conclusion.

I have brought forward in this most imperfect sketch, a list of words with a few of their derivations. I do not wish you to think that my list is either exhaustive or complete. On the contrary, I would rather have you to accept my remarks as the expression of a suggestion that the theme should be properly carried out and learnedly treated by those who by education, inclination, or taste are competent to do so. Although no one as yet has taken up the subject, as far as I am aware, in such a manner as it is capable of being treated, and as many who are interested in

all matters relating to music will think, as it ought to be treated, there is reason to believe that it would reward the searcher and the finder. My chief desire has been this evening to point out one or two of the Etymological peculiarities that may be found in musical terms; among other reasons, in order that it may be understood that I was to a certain extent justified in my statement that the names of the terms in music, and the titles of the instruments in an orchestra, show as much cosmopolitan quality as any other group of terms in our mother tongue. The value of Etymology as an indication of the comprehensive character of the history of such a matter as music is very great, almost as great in its power of promoting and strengthening agreeable social relations. The study of any branch of philology is of interest as a contribution to the knowledge of history through the medium of language, and I believe that some degree of light may be thrown upon language, manners, and customs, even in tracing the Etymons of Musical Terms.

W. A. Barrett.

XVI.—DANTE AND THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

BY C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

(Read January 24th, 1877.)

When Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, are classed together as the great Italian Literary Triumvirate of the Fourteenth Century, I must confess that I think an injustice is done to the greatness of Dante, and a want of perception shewn of the existence of a mediæval renaissance, different in spirit from the Classical Revival to which that title is usually restricted, but equally important for the student of history and literature. Looking upon the Thirteenth Century as the true zenith of the middle ages, I consider Dante's spirit to have been thoroughly in harmony with it. Pre-eminently a century of Renaissance in Theology, Philosophy, Letters, and Art; it was the very age to produce a poet, whose wonderful many-sidedness soon made it difficult even for his own countrymen to follow him with understanding, through all the stages of his allegorical journey.

It was an age of crusades:—against the Greeks and against the Albigensians, as well as against the

Moslem. It was the age of St. Louis and of St. Francis and St. Dominic, as well as of Frederick, the "wonder of the world," and of Innocent III.: the age of the two Montforts, Earl Simon, the Albigensian, and Earl Simon, *protector gentis Anglie.*

It was the culminating point of the glories of the Holy Roman Empire — for "with Frederick, in a manner," says an old English chronicler, "ended the Empire." Mr. Bryce says even more strongly, "with Frederick fell the Empire."

The "life of Frederick," says Mr. Kington-Oliphant, "coincides almost exactly with the golden age of English architecture. To this age belong the Lady Chapel of Salisbury, the Presbytery of Ely, the Choir of Westminster, the Transepts of York, the Nave of Lincoln, the Portico of Peterborough, the West Front of Wells. In France, Rheims, Amiens, Coutances, and that little gem the Sainte Chapelle of St. Louis. In Spain, Burgos and Toledo." Some feeling of what such an age must have been cannot but be impressed upon us alike by its material and its intellectual works. Its great buildings, the material works of that age, are still a daily source of admiration to the traveller; its legislative works have helped to build up the history of the greatest nations of the West: its intellectual works are the common heritage of European Literature, and the common delight of students in every age. In their learning, the greatest of Mediæval Poets and the greatest of Mediæval Popes drew from the same fountain-head that knowledge which was in itself a power that swayed men. At a time when the University of Paris was the centre of Christian teaching, Dante and Innocent III. both

studied there. Of that University one of the Masters of the College of Navarre enthusiastically writes that it was a "storehouse of letters, model of all virtues, nursery-house of all that is good in the world."[1]

To Frederick II., the "gay, the godless, the relentless," the "wonder of the world," in his day and long afterwards, and to the literary influence of his Court at Palermo, Dante, born fourteen years after the Emperor's death, assigns a high place in the history of European Literature, in the following words of his treatise 'De Vulgari Eloquio,' (on the common speech). "The illustrious heroes, Frederick the Cæsar, and his noble son Manfred, followed after elegance, and scorned what was mean; so that all the best compositions of the time came out of their Court. Thus, because their royal throne was in Sicily, all the poems of our predecessors, in the vulgar tongue, were called Sicilian." Those were the days of Sordello, and of Peter de Vinea, Great Logothete of Sicily, who, perhaps, wrote the first extant Italian sonnet, who was in the time of his prosperity looked up to by the Imperial party as the Vicar of a new Messiah, and whose downfall was one of the most sudden and awful of the kind on record.[2] But the literature of Frederick's Court, of

[1] Quoted in a very interesting article on Dante in the 'British Critic' for January, 1843, which is attributed to the pen of the late Father Dalgairns.

[2] So says Mr. Kington-Oliphant (Life of Frederick II, vol. ii. p. 479), who quotes Frederick's own language about Peter. "We stuffed him," says the Emperor, "with wealth, as much as he could crave and more." And again, "Woe is me!—This Peter whom I thought a rock, and who was the half of my life, has plotted my murder! Whom can I trust? Where can I henceforth be safe?" Yet Dante, who as Mr.

Frederick himself and his brother troubadours, was cultivated as a courtly pastime. The true source of a nation's literature was unlocked in the North, where men fought proudly for their rights, with their souls astir for liberty. When their passion broke forth in song that caught a grace from the Sicilian muse, the change in the source of inspiration was the change from a De Vinea to a Dante.

Dante was born in the year 1265, when Charles of Anjou, the unworthy brother of St. Louis of France, was crowned King of Naples, at Rome, by Clement IV. When the Popes asked Charles to fight their battle, they allied the name and cause of the Guelfs, as Morley justly observes, with the lowest form of foreign tyranny.

But a short while before, the Popes had seemed, in alliance with the Lombard towns, to be the allies and friends of Italian nationality, of municipal liberties, and of the independent rights of citizenship.

The extinction of the "Viperous brood of Hohenstauffen," as the Holy see called the house of Swabia, by the death of Manfred in battle, and the execution of Conradin, took place during the first two years of Dante's life, and he was seventeen years old at the time of the Sicilian Vespers. The year of the Sicilian Vespers (1282) was also the year of the Constitution that expressed the political mind of Florence, the

Oliphant remarks, was born not long after the tragedy, imputes Peter's fall to lying calumniators. He had been the "Doorkeeper of the Empire," the "Rock on which the Imperial Church was founded." It was an Archbishop of Capua, Walter de Ocra, who profited most by Peter's death.

Athens of mediæval Italy. Dante himself, in his chequered career, was to hold the supreme power under that constitution, which was given to the Priori for the short space of two months, in the year 1300, the famous jubilee year of Boniface VIII. Under this free Constitution both the city[3] and the arts throve. Arnolfo di Lapo paved the streets of Florence with stone instead of brick; Cimabue, breaking with Byzantine traditions, painted visions of the Madonna among saints and Angels, with life in the limbs and flow in the draperies; Giotto carried on the new tradition, and his portrait of Dante, at the age of thirty, was discovered in the Bargello of Florence in 1840. Dante was in his thirty-fifth year when those gates that Michael Angelo declared "worthy to be the gates of paradise," were cast for the Baptistry of Florence.

It is singular, remarks Mr. J. Addington Symonds, in his 'Introduction to the Study of Dante,' that "Durante," the enduring one, and Alighieri,[4] the

[3] Florence was, as Prof. Morley observes (English writers before Chaucer, vol. i. Introduction), great among the cities of Europe in commerce, a resort of nations, a hive of the most active, earnest, enterprising life. Dean Church says that "Florence, gay, capricious, turbulent, the city of party, the head and busy patroness of Democracy in the cities round her—so rich in her intellectual gifts, in variety of individual character, in poets, artists, wits, historians; in her brilliant days recalled the image of ancient Athens, and did not depart from her prototype in the beauty of her natural site, her noble public buildings, the size and nature of her territory. Florence shows to this day traces of the wealth and magnificence of the last years of the Thirteenth century."

[4] It should be remembered, however, so as not to push the symbolism of our poet's names further than they will fairly bear, that the proper form of his surname was Aldighieri, which has no connection whatever with "wings." Such an elision of a letter, for euphony, is very common

wing-bearer, should have been the two names of one who having borne in his lifetime the strokes and buffets of fortune, after death has lasted through all time, and who of all the singers of the world has soared the highest. Mr. Symonds considers the teaching that Dante had from his instructor, Brunetto Latini, "meagre," but to Villani, the old Italian chronicler, the father of Italian historians, he appeared "a great and learned person in almost every science, although a layman; a consummate poet, a philosopher, and rhetorician, as perfect in prose and in verse as he was in public speaking, a most noble orator, in rhyming excellent, with the most polished and beautiful style that ever appeared in our language up to this time or since." From Brunetto, who was, undoubtedly, learned in all the learning of his time, it may be that Dante took the shape, fashionable enough however, in those days, of an Allegorical Vision[5] for his poem, and a classical poet for his guide. Brunetto, in his celebrated 'Tesoretto,' or Little Treasury of Philosophy, dreamed that he lost

in Italy. The original paternal name was Elisei, and it was the marriage of Dante's ancestor, Cacciaguida degli Elisei (whom he introduces in the Paradiso, canto xvi.), with Aldighiera degli Aldighieri, of Ferrara, that brought about the change of name. It was not till the 16th or 17th century that the Alighieri of Verona assumed the arms "azure, a wing or," in allusion to this fancied symbolism (see Symonds, pp. 31, 32).

[5] Maffei (Storia della Letteratura Italiana, i. pp. 57, 58) mentions the various views that have been advanced regarding visions that may have suggested the idea of Dante's poem, *e.g.*, The Vision of the Purgatory of St. Patrick, in a romance called Il Meschino, and the Vision of Frate Alberico, a monk of Monte Cassino, and lastly Brunetto Latini's Tesoretto; but dismisses them all, saying that "we must seek in the rich mine of the poet's own mind for the type of his poem, and the circumstances that inspired it."

his way in a forest, where he met with Nature, by whom he was instructed concerning God and man, the five senses, the elements, the planets, the varieties of animals, and navigation beyond the pillars of Hercules. Then Nature bade him search for Philosophy, the Four Virtues, the God of Love, Fortune, and Fraud. At the abode of Love he met with Ovid, who became his guide, as Virgil to Dante.

But Brunetto Latini has nothing to do with the *soul* of Dante's great poem, and had the poet himself remained on Brunetto's level, he would have been simply a master of the poetry of his *own time*, instead of being what the "Commedia" made him, a master of the poetry of *all time*. "Without the vigorous stirring of all his depths by the events of his life in Florence,"[6] justly remarks Prof. Morley, "Dante never would, on such suggestion as that of Brunetto, have yielded as he did for the first time in all literature, the whole innermost truth of a man's soul in a poem passionate with all that was real to him, rising fearlessly to the heights and sounding the depths of an argument unequalled then in its sublimity."

[6] So likewise says Dr. Church (the present Dean of S. Paul's), in a very full and sympathetic article on Dante, in his 'Essays and Reviews' (Mozley, 1854), a work with which Mr. Symonds somewhat singularly confesses that he was unacquainted at the time of writing his own book. "It was the factions of Florence," says Church, "which made Dante a great poet. But for them, he might have been a modern critic and essayist, born before his time, and have held a high place among the writers of fugitive verses . . . he might have thrown into the shade the Guidos and Cinos of his day, to be eclipsed by Petrarch. But he learned from the bitter feuds of Italy not to trifle . . . and from that fiery trial . . . he drew that great gift and power by which he stands pre-eminent even among his high compeers, the gift of being *real*."

No other age could have produced the Commedia, summing up as it does the life of the Middle Ages, "in all its lights, and in many of its shades." Dante, as Mr. Symonds[7] rightly points out, is a child of the Middle Ages, while Milton belongs to the Classic Renaissance. It would be even more accurate, I think, to say that Dante belongs heart and soul to the *Mediæval Renaissance*, of which the Thirteenth Century was the most brilliant period. That there were several phases of revival during the Middle Ages, before what we commonly call the Renaissance, is a fact too little borne in mind.[8]

In this sense must be interpreted the judgment of a French writer[9] on Italian art, who says of Dante that "the true source of the Renaissance is the sincere passion of a great man, wandering from town to town, from illusion to illusion, preserving ever in the midst of all illusions the memory of a young girl whom he met as a child, and who died in the prime of life, the wife of another; a memory which increases with the successive losses that fall upon him, a love which becomes idealized as his country fails him, and which in the Odyssey of his trials constitutes the link of unity in his life and poem. Dante's poem," continues M. Dumesnil, "could only have been conceived and executed by a wounded soul, giving itself up to the deepest anguish. He

[7] Introduction to the Study of Dante, p. 22.

[8] Mr. Pater deservedly draws attention to this neglected fact in his 'Studies in the Renaissance.'

[9] Alfred Dumesnil, 'L'Art Italien.' It is worthy of note, as M. Dumesnil points out, that "by his wanderings Dante *became a citizen of all Italy*, and gathered on his way all the legends that he works into his poem."

trembles and swoons at his own conceptions, as we see in the episode of Francesca da Rimini." [10] This coincides pretty closely with Victor Hugo's view,[11] expressed in the following terms. "The man (*i.e.*, the hero) of Dante is Dante. Dante is, so to speak, created a second time in his poem; he is his own type; his Adam is himself. For the action of his poem he has sought out no one. He has only taken Virgil as a supernumerary. Moreover, he has made himself epic at once, without giving himself the trouble even to change his name. What he had to do was in fact simple: to descend into hell and remount to heaven. He knocks gravely at the door of the Infinite, and says, 'Open, I am Dante.'"

The "simplicity" of this task may seem questionable, but the personality of the poet, identified with every stage of the marvellous journey, is patent to all students of the Commedia.

And this personality of Dante's poetry is not confined to the 'Commedia;' it pervades also the 'Vita Nuova,' of which Mr. Theodore Martin observes, "there is not in literature a more remarkable contribution to the personal history of a great man. It is a chronicle equally minute in analysis, and admirable in expression, of emotions the most profound; a record of real life to which there is nothing superior in romance. . . . Beatrice, with her sweet smile, her voice rich with the music of a noble heart, her infinite grace which made her supreme among the

[10] "Caddi come corpo morto cade." Inf. v.

[11] Cited in 'British Quarterly Review,' vol. 47 (1868), p. 368, Art. on "Dante."

graceful, comes before us as vividly as Imogen or Desdemona. . . . His dream, his guiding star while she lived, Beatrice became Dante's angel, monitress, aspiration, when dead. Her image cheered and sustained him through exile, poverty, and desolation. Through her (as he himself tells us) he was induced to rise above the common herd. . . . To her he dedicated his inner soul, and to her ascribed all that was most worthy in its achievements. How all this came to be, the 'Vita Nuova' tells us. Its very name shows the importance which Dante attached to the story it contains; and the worshipper of his genius will find no fitter clue to his personal character than it affords. . . . Why his love (for Beatrice) was unsuccessful is a mystery on which Dante himself throws no light, and as to which no satisfactory explanation has hitherto been suggested. . . . "Giotto's portrait of Dante, at the age of thirty [12] (already mentioned as having been discovered in the Bargello, in 1840), enables us," says Mr. Martin, "to picture for ourselves the youthful Dante as Beatrice must have seen him. The face is full of intellect and manly beauty, but with the sensitive, self-enwrapt, and abstracted air, which tells of a constant unrest, and struggle after more than is to be found amid the limitations of earthly life; a face in which tenderness and vigour are strangely blended,

[12] Reproduced as a frontispiece to Mr. Martin's translation of the 'Vita Nuova.' An article on Dante, in 'Brit. Quart. Rev.' vol. 47, says that a facsimile drawing which was made of it passed into the hands of Lord Vernon, and is now the only existing authentic portrait. Mr. Symonds gives a photograph of a mask taken by Mr. Kirkup, of Florence, but without adding any account of it.

the mirror of a nature at once singularly sympathetic, and singularly self-centred. Intellect, feeling, character, were all there, and more than all these, the suggestion that behind it was something that never can be wholly known, which always has been and always will be (so thinks Mr. Martin), especially attractive to the other sex."

It may not be uninteresting or unpractical to compare with this description of Dante, evolved by Mr. Martin from the study of Giotto's long-lost fresco, the sketches of his personal appearance left on record by Villani and Boccaccio. The former, writing an account of the poet as requiring notice in his chronicle, says of him, "This Dante from his knowledge was somewhat presumptuous, harsh and disdainful, like an ungracious philosopher; he scarcely deigned to converse with laymen (*i.e.*, I suppose, with those who were not of a poetic cast of feeling); but for his other virtues, science, and worth as a citizen, it seems but reasonable to give him perpetual remembrance in this our chronicle." On this the writer of an article on Dante in the 'British Quarterly Review' remarks, "such to his contemporaries appeared Dante as a student; the distance between the man of genius and the vulgar was never more strongly marked." Boccaccio's, however, is a more sympathising testimony. "Our poet," says he, "was of middle height, and after reaching mature years he went somewhat stooping; his gait was grave and sedate; always clothed in most becoming garments, his dress was suited to the ripeness of his years; his face was long, his nose aquiline, his eyes large rather than the reverse, his jaw heavy, and his under lip prominent; his

complexion was dark, and his hair and beard thick, black, and crisp; and his countenance was always sad and thoughtful. . . . His manner, whether in public or at home, was wonderfully composed and restrained; and in all his ways he was more courteous and civil than anyone else."

In Boccaccio's, as well as in Mr. Theodore Martin's, word-picture of the great poet, we can trace something of that mysticism which is so apparent in his works, and which influenced even the divisions of his poem, and the system of his versification. "Whoever has read the 'Vita Nuova'" says Mr. Longfellow, "will remember the stress which Dante lays upon the mystic numbers nine and three; his first meeting with Beatrice at the beginning of *her* ninth year, and the end of *his*; his nine days' illness, and the thought of her death, which came to him on the ninth day; her death on the ninth day of the ninth month, . . . and in that year of our Lord when the perfect number ten was nine times completed in that century," which was the Thirteenth. "Moreover," says Dante, "the number nine was friendly to her, because the nine heavens were in conjunction at her birth, and she was herself the number nine, that is a miracle, whose root is the wonderful Trinity." "Following out this idea," continues Longfellow, "we find the Divine Comedy written in 'terza rima,' or threefold rhyme, divided into three parts, and each part subdivided in its structure into three. The whole number of cantos is a hundred, the perfect number ten multiplied into itself; but if we count the first canto of the Inferno as a prelude, which it really is, each part will consist of thirty-three cantos, making ninety-nine in all, and

so the favourite mystic numbers reappear." In this his mysticism, as well as in his astrology and cosmography, and in his mapping out of the world beyond the grave, Dante is thoroughly representative of the ideas of his own time.[13] Dean Milman calls him "the one authorised topographer of the Mediæval Hell. . . . Throughout the Middle Ages," says Milman, "the world after death continued to reveal more and more fully its awful secrets. Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, became more distinct, if it may be so said, more visible. Their site, their topography, their torments, their trials, their enjoyments, became more conceivable, almost more palpable to sense; till Dante summed up the whole of this traditional lore, or at least, with a poet's intuitive sagacity, seized on all which was most imposing, effective, real, and condensed it in his three co-ordinate poems. . . . Hell had admitted, according to legend, more than one visitant from this upper world, who returned to relate his fearful journey to wondering man, St. Fiersy, St. Vettin, a layman, Bernilo. But all these early descents interest us only as they may be supposed or appear to have been faint types of the great Italian poet." Some of these visions extended to Purgatory as well, and we have them in the literatures of England and of Ireland, as well as of France and of Italy. Milman recalls besides the visions already quoted, two or three journeys of the Monk of Evesham, and of Thurkil, an Essex peasant, "very wild and fantastic." He further shows that the

[13] 'Latin Christianity,' ix. (cabinet edition), p. 89 (Survey, bk. xiv. ch. ii.)

Purgatory of St. Patrick, the Purgatory of Owen Miles, and the vision of Frate Alberico of Monte Cassino, were among the most popular and widespread legends of the ages preceding Dante; and as in Hell, so in Purgatory, Dante sums up in his noble verses the whole theory, the whole popular belief as to this intermediate sphere." "In his Paradise," continues Milman, "Dante blends the Ptolemaic system with the nine angelic circles of the Pseudo-Dionysius; the material heavens in their nine circles; above and beyond them, in the invisible heavens, the nine hierarchies; and yet higher than the highest heavens, the dwelling of the Ineffable Trinity. . . . Dante peoples the nine material heavens, the cycle of the Moon, Venus, Mercury, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the fixed stars, and the firmament above (or Primum Mobile), with those who are admitted to a progressively advancing state of glory and blessedness. All this, it should seem, is below the ascending circles of the Celestial Hierarchies, that immediate vestibule or forecourt of the Holy of Holies; the Heavens of Heavens into which the most perfect of the saints are admitted. . . . That in all the Paradise of Dante there should be a dazzling sameness, a mystic indistinctness, an inseparable blending of the real and unreal, is not wonderful, if we consider the nature of the subject. . . . It is more wonderful that with these few elements, light, music, and mysticism, he should by his singular talent of embodying the purely abstract and metaphysical thought in the liveliest imagery, represent such things with the most objective truth, yet without disturbing their fine spiritualism. The subtlest scholasticism

is not more subtle than Dante. It is, perhaps, a bold assertion,[14] but what is there on these transcendent subjects, in the vast theology of Aquinas, of which the essence and sum is not in the Paradise of Dante? Dante, perhaps, though expressing to a great extent the popular conception of Heaven, is as much by his innate sublimity above it, as St. Thomas (Aquinas) himself."

Dante's religion and Dante's politics have both given rise to the expression of the most diametrically opposite opinions. Milman, as we have just seen, considers him beyond his age in the sublimity of his religious conceptions, but does not seem to hint at unorthodoxy. Church says of him that "he did the work in his day of a great preacher," and "yet he has been both claimed and condemned as a disturber of the Church's faith. He certainly did not spare the Church's rulers. He thought they were betraying the most sacred of all trusts, and if history is at all to be relied on, he had some grounds for thinking so. But it is confusing the feelings of the Middle Ages with our own, to convert every fierce attack on the Popes into an anticipation of Luther. Strong language of this sort was far too commonplace to be significant; when the Middle Ages complained they did so with a full-voiced and clamorous rhetoric which greedily seized on every topic of vilification within its reach." This warning of Dean Church is a very necessary one for all who have not made a study of mediæval history, and it is not without use to those

[14] Borne out, however, by Ozanam, in his great work, 'Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au xiiie Siècle.'

who have. The failure to realise the important distinction between attacks on individual Popes and attacks on the Papacy, and between attacks on the temporal power of the Popes and attacks on their spiritual power, led Signor Rossetti, in his very able essay on the "Anti-Papal Spirit of Dante," to construct an elaborate system of anti-Papal interpretation which must fall to the ground when we apply Dr. Church's warning as a test of its soundness.

As to Dante's Politics, Deans Milman and Church are, apparently, in direct antagonism, the former taking what may be called the ordinary view, that he was a Ghibelline, and the latter denying it.[15] But, perhaps, this difference is more apparent than real, for, according to the mediæval theory, the Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire were but two sides or aspects of the same Divinely ordained Government, so that both Pope and Emperor being by universal consent acknowledged as the twin Vicars of God upon earth, it was, strictly speaking, only by the encroachment of the one on the territory of the other that differences arose. Dante was strongly with the Franciscans and religious Imperialists against the *temporal* power of the Popes, while he was full of reverence for their *spiritual* power. On the whole, I do not know how better to define my own view of his position than by suggesting that Dante was in his

[15] Dean Church calls Dante's political views a "dream of a real and National Government, based on justice and law; a dream of a real state." But it was a dream which the men of his time thought they might see realised in their own day. So dreamed the mystic Franciscans of a Papa Angelico.

Politics, as in his Religion, beyond his age in the sublimity of his conception both of the world-religion and the world-monarchy. He seems to me to have been a more spiritual Papalist than any Guelph, a more lofty Imperialist than any Ghibelline, of the Middle Ages,[16] and for that very reason to have been misunderstood both in his own day and long after it; a sad fate, but one not altogether to be wondered at. "Weary," says Mr. Bryce,[17] "of the endless strife of princes and cities, of the factions within every city, Dante raised a passionate cry for some power to still the tempest, *not to quench liberty*, or supersede local self-government, but to correct and moderate them, to restore unity and peace to hapless Italy."[18]

Of the matchless beauties of the "Divina Commedia" time would fail me to speak at any length. Their praise is in all lands, and has been sung in all languages. I can only allow myself to touch briefly on a few points that may serve as general indications of Dante's power. Dr. Church points out that there

[16] "All who consider Dante as a Guelf or a Ghibelline, grovel at the base of the monument which he desired to raise to Italy."—*Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. lxv.

[17] 'Holy Roman Empire,' p. 291.

[18] M. De Rougemont (Les Deux Cités) says of the Treatise 'De Monarchia,' that the fundamental principles of political science could not have been better explained than they were by Dante at a time when Boniface VIII. was treating the separation of Church and State as Manichæism. "The sphere of the State," says Dante, "is that of the natural faculties; the sphere of the Church that of the spiritual faculties. The Church is of God, but the State, which is the more ancient, is also of God. These two institutions are therefore independent of each other, and each must work separately at the common work of unity. Their confusion is the source of all evils."

is scarcely an hour of the day or night which has not found some memorial in the Commedia. "Evening, with its softness and melancholy, its exhaustion and languor after the work of the day, its regrets and yearnings, its sounds and doubtful lights, the distant bell, the closing chants of the Church, 'Te lucis ante terminum,' and 'Salve Regina,' broods over the poet's first resting-place on his heavenly road; that still, solemn, and dreamy scene, the valley of flowers in the mountain's side,[19] where those who have been negligent about their salvation, but not altogether faithless or fruitless, the assembled shades of great kings and poets wait, looking upwards, 'pale and humble,' for the hour when they may begin in earnest their penance."

"Noon, too, does not want its characteristic touches: the motes in the sunbeam at noontide, its clear, diffused, insupportable brightness, filling all things, and veiling the sun in his own light. But the sights and sounds of morning are what he touches on most frequently, and he does so with the precision of one who had watched them with oft-repeated delight, as he tells us of the scented freshness of the breeze that stirs before daybreak, the dawn stealing on, and the stars, one by one, fading, the brightness of the morning-star, the blue gradually gathering in the east, spreading over the brightening sky, succeeded by orange tints, and Mars setting red, through the mist over the sea. But *light* in general is his special and chosen source of poetic beauty,"

[19] Purg. vii. and viii.

continues Dr. Church: "No poet that we know has shown such singular sensibility to its varied appearances, has shown that he felt it in itself the cause of a distinct and peculiar pleasure. He must have studied and dwelt upon it like music. His mind is charged with its effects and combinations, in the sky and earth and sea; in the star, the flame, the lamp, the gem; light streaming through the rent cloud, glowing in the coal, quivering in the lightning, flashing in the topaz and ruby, veiled behind the pure alabaster, mellowed and clouding itself in the pearl; light everywhere and from every source, and in all its shapes illuminates, irradiates, gives its glory to the Commedia."

In local recollections, too, and in touches descriptive of scenery and characteristic of places, Dante abounds. How he delights in a local name and image may be recalled by a few memories such as those of "the hooded monks of Cologne," the "dykes of Flanders and Padua," the "cold, dull shadow over a torrent, beneath the Alpine fir," the sides of Malebolge, "all wrought in stone of iron-coloured grain," which Ruskin[20] shows to be a reminiscence of the melancholy ashen-grey limestone of the Apennines, and not the least interesting, perhaps, from its association with the poet's own last days, "the sighing of the south wind among the pine-tops, in the forest by the sea near Ravenna." With all these beauties, however, and many more that we must not stop now even to glance at, it cannot be denied that the Commedia

[20] 'Modern Painters,' iii. p. 237.

is a hard book, nor did its author much care that it should be otherwise.[21] If it is a hard book to study, much more is it a hard one to give any adequate account of. "Those who know it best," as Dr. Church justly observes, "will best know how hard it is to be the interpreter of such a mind, but they will sympathise (and so I hope will you) with the wish to call attention to it. They know, too, how often its living energy has put to shame their indolence; its stern, sad grandeur rebuked low thought; its thrilling tenderness assuaged distress, its strong faith soothed perplexity, its vast grasp imparted the sense of harmony to the view of clashing truths."[22] Carlo Leoni, in his 'Opere Storiche' (Padua, 1844, i. p. 97), groups together Charles the Great, Gregory VII., and Dante, as the three "Cardini" or pivots of the Middle Ages; the first for politics, the second for religion, the third for literature. It would not be easy to surpass a Triad comprising the maker of the Holy Roman Empire, the maker of the Holy Roman Church, and the maker of the Divina Commedia, who was also thereby the maker of the Italian language and literature, the maker not only of Florence, but also of Italy. "For his Divina Commedia," says M. Dumesnil, is "the manifesto of the living faith of Italy, which would be born again and would have universal dominion." The "universal dominion" to

[21] Dante says himself that "the sense of his work is not simple, but on the contrary, one may say manifold."

[22] "The seed of the Commedia was sown in tears and reaped in misery; the consolations which it offers are awful as they are real."—*Church.*

which Dante helped Italy is a surer one than that of princes, for it is a dominion over all who feel the poet to be the maker of men and of nations. In the words of Carlo Leoni's epitaph, "Dante, king of poets, receives the homage of the entire universe."

XVII.—THE 'PETRARCHESCA ROSSETTIANA' AT TRIESTE.

WITH NOTES ON THE VOLUME 'PADOVA A FRANCESCO PETRARCA,' EMBRACING THE CENTENARY EDITION OF THE 'AFRICA,' AND ON SOME INEDITED WRITINGS OF PETRARCH, PUBLISHED BY DR. ATTILIO HORTIS.

BY C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M. A.

(Read May 26th, 1875.)

Of the various Petrarch collections whose most precious printed or MS. possessions were exhibited at Padua, during the Festival in which I had the honour to represent this Society, the largest and richest was undoubtedly that which stands at the head of my paper this evening, the 'Petrarchesca Rossettiana' of Trieste. No less than fifty copies belonging to this library were exhibited at Padua, whilst from such Italian cities as Naples and Parma but five were sent, and from several other towns not more than one. Milan being among that number. It would not, I must admit, be safe to assume from this remarkable difference between the proportion of the home and foreign elements in the Padua Exhibition, that Italy does not possess adequate collections of the works of Petrarch, for we know the contrary to be the case; and I myself subsequently inspected a separate exhibi-

tion at the library of St. Mark in Venice, specially arranged in honour of the Centenary.

Still, the fact remains that the collection to which Domenico Rossetti, whose portrait fitly adorns the book which I have the pleasure, on behalf of the municipality of Trieste, of presenting to the Society this evening, [1] gave so many years of patient labour and research, and upon whose creation and preservation he bestowed so much of his wealth, occupies one of the most prominent positions in the Bibliography of Petrarch.

There are even some points in which the 'Rossettiana' is superior to the collection made by the Abate Marsand of Padua, as it happened that the two collectors had somewhat different predilections. Marsand occupied himself chiefly with gathering together the 'Opere Volgari' of the poet, and the writings of others on his 'Canzoniere' and on his Life, while Rossetti sought out his Latin works, which Marsand neglected entirely. The 'Rossettiana' is also possessed of a larger number of texts than the Marsand collection, [2] and though it has not usually such beautiful copies, it contains some that have become very rare, and even unique. Marsand collected copies that had belonged to Popes, and Cardinals and Princes; Rossetti was obliged to content himself with less

[1] 'Catalogo delle Opere di Francesco Petrarca esistenti nella Petrarchesca Rossettiana di Trieste, aggiuntavi l' Iconografia della medesima, per cura di Attilio Hortis, Civico Bibliotecario.' Trieste, 1874.

[2] This superiority of the Rossetti collection is a matter of the greater congratulation for bibliographers now that Trieste has to take the place of Paris, since the lamented loss of the Marsand 'Biblioteca Petrarchesca,' through the burning of the Louvre during the troubled times of the Commune, in May, 1871.

historical renown, but for bibliographical purposes, his collection, being fuller, is the more valuable of the two, since it may be said, in the words of Dr. Hortis, to "illustrate the history of Thought in relation to Petrarch." So rich a library is well befitting to the city of which Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was bishop; and of him, too, Trieste possesses a similar store of treasures, procured for her by the same collector. Dr. Hortis classifies his catalogue, according to the nature of the subject-matter of the copies in the 'Rossettiana,' beginning with the editions containing the 'Opera Omnia.'

This series commences with an edition printed at Basle, in 1496, by Magister Joannes de Amerbach, in Roman type, slightly differing, in the order of some of the treatises, from the copy described by Hain in the 'Repertorium Bibliographicum,' and in the 'Serapeum.' Signor Hortis believes it to be the 'Editio Princeps' of the whole of Petrarch's works, considering the editions of 1494 and 1495, mentioned by Panzer, as doubtful. The earliest copy of the 'Opera Omnia' printed in Italy which is to be found at Trieste, is the edition of 1501, from the press of Simon de Luere in Venice, the character of which Hortis calls 'semi-gothic.' The last in the series is a Basle edition of 1581.

The collection of 'Rime' begins earlier, the list being headed by a Padua edition of 1472, the work of Bartolomeo Valdizocco of that city. It contains several copies from which the Avignon sonnets have been expunged, and among its rarest features may be mentioned two samples of the edition by Soncino in 1503, dedicated by him to Cæsar Borgia, and Pacini's

Florence edition of the 'Trionfi,' which Marsand only reported on the authority of Volpi. But it would be impossible to go through the list of editions of the 'Rime Volgari,' which comes down through the centuries, connecting itself with the names of the most gifted men of letters, who edited, or commented on, Petrarch's poems in the vulgar tongue, and imbibed from their labour fresh zeal in the cause of that country for which he had so eloquently pleaded with Popes, Emperors, Tribunes, and nobles. Tassoni, Muratori, Alfieri, Leopardi, Carrer, all pass before us in this series, which thus forms as it were a roll-call of illustrious men, whose names are in themselves a history of Italy from the days of Petrarch to the present time. The last copy that requires notice is a centenary edition of the 'Trionfi,' printed in Venice, and carefully edited by Signor Pasquaglio from a collation of autograph and other MSS. Hortis says of this book, that it is the most painstaking of all editions of the 'Trionfi,' and the only one based upon the collation of authoritative MSS. Unfortunately, in accordance with a fashion far too prevalent on the Continent, it is also extremely rare, only three hundred copies having been printed. I could wish that I were not obliged to make the same complaint with regard to Signor Hortis himself, whose valuable Catalogue cannot be purchased.

This ostracism of the general public, however, is due, not to Signor Hortis, but to the municipality of Trieste, as I feel bound to say, notwithstanding the choice gift that their munificence enables me to lay before our Society to-night. Returning to my brief abstract of the Rossetti collection, I have to notice

that the series of Petrarch's Latin works begins in 1473, with a volume containing a letter 'de Insigne Obedientia; et fide Vxoris Griseldis in Waltherum,' printed at Ulm by Johannes Zeiner of Reutlingen. The story of the faithfulness of Griseldis is an amplification of the tenth story of the tenth day in the Decameron. The next in order mentioned by Hortis is believed by him, as well as by Fracassetti, in the preface to his translation, to be the 'Editio Princeps' of the letters of Petrarch. It was printed in Venice by John and Gregory de Gregoriis, and corrected by Sebastian Manilius, citizen of Rome, 'viro haud illiterato, qua fieri potuit diligentia,' on the Ides of September, 1492. Hortis says that he has never been able to identify the earlier edition of 1484, mentioned by Maittaire. A volume containing the dialogues 'De Secreto Curarum conflictu,' corrected by Franciscus Mazalis, and published at his expense at Reggio d'Emilia (Regii Lepidi), in 1501, deserves to be noted, not only on account of the beauty of its type, but also because Hortis tells us that it offers the best readings of the 'Secreto,' as he has been able to assure himself by collating it with the MSS. of best repute, especially Codex 9, Pluteus XXVI, in the Laurentian Library, which was copied by Tedaldo della Casa from Petrarch's own Autograph.

There is also a copy of 'Carmina Ornatissima Trigintasex, p[er] Modu[m] Oratio[n]is Francisci Petrarcha,' in honour of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Anne, the Blessed Virgin, and Our Lord, printed at Liptzk, [Leipzig?] by Jacobus Thanner in 1508, of which Hortis says that it is a very rare book, not mentioned by either Brunet or Graesse. It was acquired for the Rossetti collection in 1869.

Under the dates of 1697 and 1713 we find in the Rossettiana two copies of the so-called Commentary of Julius Celsus on the Life and Exploits of Julius Cæsar, which Schneider[3] and Rossetti[4] both, by independent lines of investigation, proved to be part of Petrarch's 'Liber de viris illustribus.' The earlier copy was printed at Amsterdam by Blaer, then later at Leyden, by Boutestyn and Luchtmans. Coming down to modern times, I cannot omit to mention one of Rossetti's own labours, an elaborate edition in three volumes of the 'Poemata Minora,' with translations by living Italian writers, and notes by himself and others. It was published at Milan, between 1829 and 1834.

Fracassetti's edition of the 'Epistolæ' published at Florence by Le Monnier, 1859–63, containing one hundred and sixty three letters then printed for the first time, is deservedly called by Hortis, "the fairest monument that a man of letters in our day could have raised to the memory of the great Poet."

In connection with the Latin works of Petrarch it only remains that I should mention an edition of the 'Africa' published before the Centenary, in 1872, by Thorin of Paris, under the editorship of M. L. Pingaud, a former pupil of the "Ecole Normale," who collated the Laurentian MSS. with those of the National Library in Paris.

Of the inedited Latin writings of Petrarch published by Signor Hortis himself, with which the list of this portion of the Rossetti Collection clōses, I shall speak presently. Among the undated copies of Petrarch's

[3] Petrarchæ Historia Julii Cæsaris. Lipsiæ, 1827.

[4] Petrarca, Giulio Celso, e Boccaccio. Trieste, 1828.

works both Latin and Italian in the 'Rossettiana,' I need, I think, only mention the following: a copy of the 'Trionfi' and 'Vita,' which was described and illustrated by Domenico Rossetti in 1826. It is certainly, says Hortis, one of the earliest editions of the 'Canzoniere,' contemporaneous with, if not earlier than, the Jenson edition, and probably based on the same MS. text. Besides the two copies at Trieste only one other is known, belonging (when Rossetti wrote) to Count Gaetano Melzi, of Milan.

Of doubtful works which have been attributed to Petrarch, the Rossettiana possesses some very rare copies, notably the dialogue of Pylades and Orestes, "de miseriâ curiæ Romanæ," which was only obtained a few months before the Centenary Festival. The argument of the dialogue is to the effect that Rome must be shunned as a "spelunca latronum, malorum fons et officina." Flaccius Illyricus wrote of it that he did not think Petrarch was the author, though the writing was that of a pen wanting neither in learning nor in elegance. There are several copies of the 'Lives of the Popes and Emperors,' of which Rossetti said that "by attributing them to Petrarch one more apocryphal work was gained, and one more erroneous opinion." Of this book an extremely rare edition, not in the 'Rossettiana,' is possessed by Count Giovanni Cittadella, of Padua, who was President of the Centenary Committee. It was printed in Venice, in 1580, by Don Felice Ambrosino de Hadria.

There is in Italy a practice, very good in its intention, but sadly tantalising to the student or book-hunter, of printing rare tracts and MSS. for

private circulation on the occasion of a wedding. As these publications can never go beyond a narrow circle of friends, I will mention one which has fortunately found its way to the shelves of the Rossetti Library. It is a 'Lettera Volgare di Messer Francesco Petrarca a Leonardo Beccanuggi,' and was printed for the Marcello-Zon wedding, from a MS. in the Marciana at Venice, collated with the readings in the Petrarchista of Nicolò Franco, at the Tipografia G. B. Merlo, in Venice, 1858. This letter must have enjoyed great popularity in the sixteenth century, for Fracassetti states that it was reprinted by the Aldi not less than fourteen times between 1542 and 1567. Yet he doubts its authenticity, as also does Tessier, who finally refers the solution of the problem to philologists. Hortis mentions that there is in the Central State Archives at Florence a letter of one Leonardo Beccanuggi, under date 1388, which possibly might throw some light on the question, but he does not say that he has himself examined it.

Of manuscript texts the 'Petrarchesca Rossettiana' possesses ten, six being on vellum, and four on paper. The one that struck me most in the Exhibition stands first in the catalogue of Signor Hortis. It contains, together with the 'Canzoniere,' the Commentary of Francesco Filelfo, and appears from notes on various pages to have been at one time in Greek hands, though evidently, says Hortis, written in Italy, and, indeed, bearing the words "Andreas de Gluxiano scripsit."

No. 2 in the list of MSS., which contains the 'Canzoniere' and 'Trionfi,' has suffered such complete erasure in the Avignon portion that the three

sonnets "Fiamma dal ciel," "L'Avara Babilonia," and "Fontana di dolore," cannot be read at all, after the initial of the first verse. It follows, both in the readings and order, Jenson's Vénice edition of 1473.

From No. 9 of the Trieste MSS. Domenico Rossetti took many various readings for his edition of the Poetical Epistles of Petrarch, and others have been given by Hortis himself, in his 'Scritti inediti di Francesco Petrarca,' to which I shall shortly refer more particularly.

Signor Hortis closes his valuable catalogue of the 'Rossettiana' by a careful description of the Iconography of the collection, which includes portraits of Petrarch and Laura, views of places inhabited by Petrarch, illustrations of the 'Trionfi,' and water-colour sketches relating to the subject-matter of the 'Canzoniere' and 'Trionfi.' The elegance of the offering made by the municipality of Trieste to the Petrarch Centenary is enhanced by three plates, illustrating the Triumphs of Love, Chastity and Fame; the latter bearing the date of 1468, while the preceding ones are earlier, but undated. They are done in Albertype (Albertipia), and were executed in Trieste under the direction of Signor Gatteri, for the municipality. I must now ask your attention to another part of my subject, the Centenary Edition of the 'Africa.'

This handsome volume has for frontispiece a photolithograph of one of the earliest and most authentic portraits of Petrarch, taken from a fresco now in the Episcopal Palace at Padua, and known to have been transferred from the house which Petrarch possessed and inhabited as Canon of the Cathedral. It is attributed

to Guariento, whose "floruit," given by Marsand as 1365, would harmonise very well with the chronology of Petrarch's ecclesiastical relations with Padua. We have documents dated by the poet, "Padue, in vicinia Majoris Ecclesiæ, in domo habitationis dicti Domini Francisci Archidiaconi [Parmensis]," in 1351. About the middle of the sixteenth century it was desired to enlarge the Cathedral of Padua, which could not be done without pulling down the poet's house. The citizens were much grieved at this necessity, and great anxiety was displayed, Marsand tells us, to secure the preservation of the portrait. The Bishop, Cardinal Pisani, was appealed to in a forcible oration written in the Paduan dialect, by Agnolo Beolco, a celebrated poet of Vicenza, surnamed "il Ruzante," under the guise of a peasant of Arquà; but all efforts to prevent the demolition were fruitless, and it only remained to take immediate action to save the portrait itself from destruction. For this good deed we are indebted to Cavaliere G. B. Selvatico, at that time Professor of Canon Law in the University of Padua, who transferred to his house the portion of the wall on which it was painted, and made its preservation the object of the united labours of himself and his brother Benedetto, "Professor Primarius" of Practical Medicine in the Gymnasium of Padua. This fact is recorded by Tomasini, in his 'Petrarca Redivivus,' 1650, and verses were written in honour of it by Giovanni Rodio.[5] Where Giambattista Selvatico's

[5] The following passage may be useful, as containing Tomasini's account of the transfer to the Palazzo Selvatico: [Sylvaticus] "Ductus fortassis egregio Leonardi Aretini exemplo, qui frequenti Imaginis Petrarchæ inspectione in literarum amorem se raptum fatetur, poetæ effi-

loving care had placed it, this portrait remained till 1816, when the Marquis Pietro Selvatico, fearing, as Marsand says, lest some accident should happen to it through the vicissitudes of fortune that sometimes overtake private families, or the absence, in some future generation, of a due love for literature and art, presented the picture to the then Bishop of the diocese, who had it at once placed on the wall of the "Sala dei Vescovi," over a door on the right hand of the principal entrance. A Latin inscription commemorates the good deeds of the Selvatico family, alike in preserving the fresco when threatened with destruction, and in restoring it to the see in the person of a Bishop who prized it more than Cardinal Pisani. The next Petrarch Memoir published in the Centenary edition of the 'Africa,' is an original essay by Count Giovanni Cittadella, whom I have already had occasion to mention, both as President of the Padua Committee and as the possessor of some interesting and rare copies of works attributed to Petrarch. Count Cittadella's object is to set forth the relations of the poet with Padua and Arquà; in the course of his essay he gives many interesting particulars of the literary and scientific activity of the city and its university, when the Carraras were Lords of Padua, and friends of Petrarch. Why the poet, whose language breathed the spirit of freedom, should have outwardly allied himself so closely with those who most contributed to choke that spirit in his countrymen, has been at all times something of a

giem muro exsectam in suas ædes transferendam curavit, eamque non minori cura inibi conservat frater Benedictus eques, raro exemplo practicæ medicinæ in Gymnasio Patrio Professor Primarius."

puzzle to the students of Petrarch's history, and both Count Cittadella and Signor Hortis feel obliged to touch upon the question. The former thinks that the independence of the poet's judgment was so well known that his residence at the courts of the Italian despots did not impose any check upon his language. Signor Hortis cannot excuse Petrarch for returning to the court of the Visconti, summer after summer, of his own free will, after he had ceased to reside with them, "until the plague, and perhaps the daily more cruel tyranny of the Visconti rule, made Lombardy insupportable to him as a residence.[6]" Hortis also quotes the views on this point of Mézières, who considers Petrarch's action as a piece of prudence, to secure himself protectors in very "kittle times," as well as the severe remark of Sismondi, to the effect that "though it is true that the Visconti were soiled by crimes and acts of ferocity, the bare mention of which makes us shudder, it should be remembered that those were days in which no European sovereign had any right to boast of his virtue."

Perhaps we had better leave this subject where Petrarch himself left it, when replying to somewhat similar objections brought against his mode of life by Boccaccio, in words aptly quoted by Count Cittadella,[7] from the 'Lettere Senili.' "You remark," says our poet, "that living with princes must have taken away a great deal of my time. Listen, then, to the truth, so that you may not be mistaken. In appearance I lived with the princes, but in reality the

[6] Scritti inediti di Francesco Petrarca (1874), p. 135.

[7] Petrarca a Padova e ad Arquà, p. 31, quoting Lettere Senili, L. xvii. Lett. ii.

princes lived with me. Rarely was I present at their councils, still more rarely at their banquets. I could never have accustomed myself to a system of living that would, though little by little, have taken away my liberty, and drawn me aside from my studies; and, therefore, while others hastened to the palace, I went out into the country, or kept to myself in my own little room."

Thus does Petrarch excuse himself. It may be a question whether the excuse was a perfectly sincere one, and whether the account he gives of his position was strictly true, or whether it was not rather a description of the life which he knew he ought to lead, and which he perhaps persuaded himself that he really did lead. But it is not my duty on this occasion, or in this Society, to criticise Petrarch's morals, therefore I will only say that to my mind there is a hollowness pervading the culture and the moral sentiment of Petrarch's times, which must be allowed due weight in estimating the relations that he held with the despots of Milan and Padua. The age of the singer of Madonna Laura is strikingly different in its tone from the age which heard Dante sing of Beatrice, and St. Francis give praise for "his sister Death."

I cannot leave Count Cittadella's contribution to the literature of the Petrarch Centenary without grateful mention of the courtesy and kindness which he shewed me, and in which, though he was second to none, the other officers of the Committee, and representatives of Towns and Institutions cordially joined. Nor can I omit calling your attention to an act of private munificence recorded by Count Cittadella on the part of one who was much loved in Padua, who had laboured

earnestly for the organisation of the festival in honour of the poet whose memory he had helped to keep alive in dark days, and who died just before witnessing the success that crowned his efforts. In 1843 Petrarch's tomb at Arquà was in a threateningly ruinous condition. A nobleman of Padua, Count Carlo Leoni, with a munificence, as Count Cittadella observes, rare in a private citizen, determined to restore it entirely at his own cost. The commune of Arquà gratefully commemorated this deed by a laudatory inscription, and all lovers of literature must admit that Leoni fully deserved their highest praise. In the midst of active preparation for the coming festival, full of life and hope, and of joy at the universal recognition of the great name he had so honoured, Carlo Leoni died. His memory was brought vividly before the assembly, which would have so rejoiced in his personal presence, by warm words spoken, both at Padua and Arquà, by Count Cittadella, and by the poets Giosuè Carducci (Enotrio Romano) and Aleardo Aleardi. At Padua, in the presence of the newly-raised statue of Petrarch, and at Arquà, in front of the tomb restored by his loving care, it would have been impossible to have forgotten Carlo Leoni.

And now I must say a few words about the Centenary edition of the 'Africa.' For several reasons my words on this head will be few. I have other points yet left to touch upon, and time warns me to be brief. Moreover, I can only look upon the 'Africa' as a splendid failure. I know that King Robert of Naples, "that very great king and philosopher," as Petrarch calls him, was so pleased with our poet's Latin epic that he begged it might be dedicated to him, at the conclusion

of the three days' examination he gave Petrarch before his coronation at the capitol. But to me there is something sad in the sight of a work upon which so much labour was bestowed, on which such hopes were built, and which is as dead to us as the great God Pan.

Yet for this very reason the 'Africa' required for its editing the careful attention of a highly cultivated scholar, and the choice for this office of the Abate Corradini secured to the publication every advantage which learning and a refined taste, combined with scholarly accuracy, could give it. Inedited MS. treasures of the Marciana and other libraries have been laid under contribution, and the result is fully worthy of the great occasion for which it was produced, perhaps more than worthy of the subject.

I have left myself, I fear, but little time to speak of the second work of Signor Hortis, which I desired to bring to your notice this evening, viz., his Inedited Writings of Petrarch. But even a slight account may be better than none in such a case, and I shall be glad of the opportunity of bearing witness to the indefatigable zeal, the diligence, and the accuracy which have placed the representative of Trieste at the Petrarch Centenary high among living Italian writers on Literary History and Criticism, as well as Bibliography. Six separate writings are brought together for the first time in print in the book I have now before me. They are—

1. The Latin Oration made by Petrarch at his coronation as poet-laureate, from a Magliabecchian MS.

2. A Latin Speech made by Petrarch before the Doge and Senate of Venice in 1353, when he went as

ambassador to mediate a peace between Venice and Genoa, from a MS. in the Palatine Library at Vienna.

3. An Italian Panegyric on the death of Giovanni Visconti, Archbishop of Milan, "qui fuit Dominus quasi totius Lombardiæ," A.D. 1354, from a Magliabecchian MS. The text, as it may be called, of this Panegyric is "Cor conturbatum est, dereliquit me virtus mea, et lumen oculorum meorum, et ipsum non est mecum." I am afraid we must admit that this is one of the cases in which Petrarch's courtliness was superior to his truthfulness, for he says that he doubts not the hearts of all present are one with his in being troubled.

4. A Latin Address on the occasion of the reduction to obedience of the rebellious city of Novara, spoken there in 1358, in presence of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, from a Palatine MS. in Vienna. The text in this instance is equally apt, "Convertetur populus meus."

5. Latin "Epitomata," or Arguments, of his Eclogues, from the Este Library, Modena.

6. Latin Prayers, against storms, to St. Agatha, and for daily use, from a Laurentian MS., collated with a Palatine and a Rossettian fac-simile.

Of these, the Venice and Novara speeches were known by report; the Arguments to the Eclogues had been suspected to be Petrarch's own composition, but Hortis believes he is the first to prove the fact by means of a letter in the Este Library at Modena, which he prints; the Prayers had been very briefly noticed by Bandini in his Laurentian Catalogue. The Coronation Speech, and the Panegyric on Archbishop Visconti, Hortis says he has not found recorded by any modern writer.

The publication of these various documents has been made by Signor Hortis the occasion for giving to the world an interesting and valuable series of historical pictures of Petrarch, in the different stages of his public life. His coronation at the Capitol, his relations with the Visconti, his attitude during the war between the Genoese (whom he considered "the gods of the sea") and the Venetians; his relations with the French Court; his religious life—such are some of the principal points in Petrarch's career and character discussed by Signor Hortis, whose work is based throughout on the best documentary evidence, MS. as well as printed. To the accomplished editor of the 'Scritti Inediti di Francesco Petrarca' these life-like sketches have been a labour of love, and they come to us most fittingly from the pen of the curator of Domenico Rossetti's Petrarch Collection.

In the brief and imperfect analysis of the literary aspect of the Petrarch Centenary at Padua, which is all that I have been able to attempt in these pages, much has necessarily been passed over. But I hope I may have said enough to shew the interest which the commemoration aroused in me when taking part in it as your representative, and I trust I may also have succeeded, in some measure at least, in proving to you that the Festival was worthy of the great name it bore. The subject is one deserving of our closest study, both from a literary and historical point of view. If we cannot, as I for my part certainly cannot, feel for Petrarch that love, and reverence and enthusiasm, which Dante's name has ever kindled, we must yet not forget the glories that are justly his. One of the most recent writers on Italian literary history in

this country, Mr. J. Addington Symonds,[8] has some just remarks on Petrarch's relation to the Classic movement. "Petrarch's ideal of antique culture," says Mr. Symonds, "as the everlasting solace, and the universal education of the human race, his life-long effort to recover the classical harmony of thought and speech, gave a direct impulse to one of the chief movements of the Renaissance, its passionate out-going toward the ancient world. . . . In Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, Italy recovered the consciousness of intellectual liberty. What we call the Renaissance had not yet arrived; but their achievement rendered its appearance in due season certain. With Dante the genius of the modern world dared to stand alone, and to create confidently after its own fashion. With Petrarch the same genius reached forth across the gulf of darkness, resuming the tradition of a splendid past." I may perhaps be permitted to add that one of the principal causes of the love which Italians bear to Petrarch is their belief that he loved his country;[9] that if he was the friend of some of the Lombard tyrants he did not debase his talents to the vindication of their crimes; that if he conducted political negotiations for those tyrants it was always with the desire to benefit all Italy; and that he mourned with sincere sorrow over the corruptions of his day in the highest places, against which he lifted up his protest unflinchingly. So, when the fourteenth

[8] 'The Renaissance in Italy.' London, 1874.

[9] To use his own words in Ep. ad Familiares (xi. 16):

"Carior res publica, carior Roma, carior Italia."

Quoted by Mr. A. H. Simpson in his interesting article on Petrarch, 'Contemporary Review,' July, 1874.

century was drawing to a close, the last Italian writer who belongs to it, Franco Sacchetti, reckoning up the great men who were gone, could say, "Woe is me! Dante is dead, and Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Who remains?" And, seeing no one worthy to take up their place in the world of letters, he thus apostrophises the waning century,[10] "O thou, orphaned, sad, disconsolate and blind, comfortless and void of all hope, say to Heaven, my trust is in Thee alone."

[10] "Orfana, trista, sconsolata e cieca,
Senza conforto e fuor d'ogni speranza,
Se alcun giorno t'avanza,
Come tu puoi, ne va peregrinando,
E di' al cielo: io mi ti raccomando."

XVIII.—ON THE SIGNIFICATIONS OF THE TERM "THE TURKS."

BY J. W. REDHOUSE, ESQ.

(Read June 19th, 1878.)

An incident has led me to suppose that the following observations as to various meanings attached to the words Turk and Turkish, by different classes of people, may prove of use. Fully to elucidate the terms, it is necessary to take a rather wide scope; for doing which the importance of the subject at the present juncture will perhaps be deemed a warrant.

Without trenching on antiquarian considerations, it is necessary to go back a thousand years, satisfactorily to establish the correct meanings of these very ambiguous words—Turk and Turkish; the former commonly applied as a term of contumely by Ottoman Turks themselves to provincials and peasants of their own race, in the sense of clod-hopper, lout, clown boor.

At the period above referred to, a thousand or eleven hundred years ago, leaving out of consideration any fragments and subdivisions of races settled down more or less permanently in countries west of the

Oxus and the Sea of Ural, from the shores of the Polar Ocean to the southern extremity of India, and which ethnologists might decide to class with the Turkish or Turanian race of mankind, there was a vast agglomeration of tribes, clans, septs, hordes, and families, inhabiting the countries that lie to the east and north of that great river, as far as the Polar Sea, almost to the Sea of Japan, and occupying the whole country thence to the mountains of China, Thibet, and Cashmere.

These populations, at that time very numerous, it would appear, spoke dialects of a language then and still called Turkish—Turk-dili (tongue of the Turks)—by themselves and by their neighbours. The dialects did not differ from one another more than the local varieties of English are found to vary; though the extreme shades would probably have rendered it impossible or difficult for a native of the far north or east of that region to make himself easily understood to the inhabitants of the western or southern borders.

Leaving those extreme members of the family, as also the Mongols or Moguls, out of consideration, we find three great branches of the Turkish-speaking race of that day,—a thousand years ago—as at present, who, though they each called their own dialect Turkish, had taken to themselves distinctive national appellations,—the Turks, the Tatars, and the Turkmans; so that the Turk and the Tatar designated the dialect of the Turkman by the name of Turkman-dili, (Turkman dialect), the Turk and the Turkman, styled the Tatar dialect, Tatar-dili (Tatar dialect), but the Tatar and the Turkman could not give a special name

to the dialect of the Turk. It was for them, as for himself, Turk-dili (Turkish), simply.

Of these three branches of Turkish-speaking peoples, the Turk family appears to have been the first that began to emigrate in hordes of millions, and to commence a career of conquering progress to the west and south of the Jaxartes and Oxus about the year A.D. 800, eventually making themselves masters, under different dynasties, and at varying epochs, of the whole of Persia, Syria, and of modern Turkey, to say nothing of their invasions of India. They embraced the faith of Islam almost from the first, and professed every outward respect for the Abbasi Caliphs who ruled at Bagdad; but they helped themselves to territory as they pleased and were able. The Turks we think of at present, the Ottomans—the Osmanli—did not as yet exist as a separate nation.

The Turkish language was thus spread, as a spoken and written vernacular, from the Great Wall of China to the Mediterranean. Turkish kings or princes ruled over the whole region; and the Crusades were undertaken by the Latin or Frankish Roman Catholic peoples of western Europe, with the view of wresting the Holy Land from the grasp of those Turks, with as much more territory, Muslim or Eastern Christian, as might be found practicable. These eventually came to nought; but the Crusaders, and Europeans generally, now began to use the word Turk as a synonym of, as a substitute for, the older term Saracen, in the sense of Muslim, or Muhammadan (Mahometan); that is, every Muslim, of whatever race, became gradually, though often most erroneously, dubbed a Turk by Europeans. For instance, the

great Salahu-'d-Din (Saladin) was a Kurd, who had made himself master of Egypt and Syria.

The wave of Turkish intrusion, vast as it was, did not then attain its utmost subsequent limits, either to the north, or to the south, or to the east, or to the west. As yet no Tatars had appeared on the scene west of what we call Chinese Tartary; but tribes of Turkmans, also several millions in the aggregate, though far less numerous than the Turks, had begun to move westward, first as pastoral nomads, then as defensive warriors, not yet as conquerors and sovereigns.

About A.D. 1220, the Turkish sovereign of the whole country between Chinese Tartary and the present western frontier of Persia, suzerain perhaps also of Asia Minor, drew upon himself the wrath of Jengiz Khan, who, from small beginnings in the eastern parts of Chinese Tartary, had gradually brought under his rule the whole of the more eastern Turkish-speaking races and tribes, as well as a considerable portion of northern China itself.

With forces almost incredibly numerous, an army of five millions being mentioned by historians, Jengiz invaded Transoxiana, killing all, whether Turk, Turkman, Persian, or Arab,—Muslim or Christian,—ravaging and destroying everything. Among his warlike hordes were Turks, Tatars, and Moguls; the last as a kind of imperial guard, and staff corps. The survivors of these last mostly returned afterwards to China with Jengiz, and left no tangible residuum behind as a body capable of influencing the language of a people. Their name, however, three hundred years later, penetrated into India as the erroneous

local designation of the Turks who established there the dominion of the house of Timur.

The Tatars appear to have formed the right wing and northern mass of the great Turkish-speaking race of invaders. Under one of the sons of Jengiz they conquered and peopled the country to the north of the Lake of Aral and Caspian Sea, as far as Poland, the Crimea, and Bessarabia; rendering tributary the then insignificant principality of Moscow, and driving the Bulgarians from their seats on the Volga to the neighbourhood of the Danube. This river the Bulgarians subsequently crossed, carrying their ravages, in their turn, to the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus, the Hellespont, and Thessalonica. They were quelled at last by an energetic emperor from Constantinople, and until recently never again became conspicuous.

Jengiz gave to that son the whole northern country he had so conquered. It afterwards broke up into several kingdoms, as those of Siberia, Kazan, Astracan, and the Crimea; all speaking Turkish, all calling their language Turkish, but naming themselves, and being named by others, Tatar. Russia gradually engulfed them all, after the Ottomans had become and remained suzerains, for more than three centuries, over the western portion, the kingdom of the Crimea, which extended from the eastern frontier of Moldavia to the Volga, with an indefinite northern frontier, and with more or less sway over the northern parts of the Caucasus. Refugees from this kingdom, chiefly from Bessarabia, have hitherto lived in large numbers in the Dobruja, and still known as Tatars, their dialect as Tatar-Turkish.

Another son of Jengiz, and his son after him,

received Persia, and a third son all Transoxiana, as kingdoms. No Tatars appear conspicuously among their followers; but the Turkmans make themselves remarked now all along the northern frontier of modern Persia; vast bodies of Turks advancing also, and settling down in those parts. Bagdad, and with it the first line of the Abbaside Caliphs, was now totally destroyed by the grandson of Jengiz.

Numbers of fugitives escaped westward to avoid extermination at the hands of Jengiz and his ruthless followers. Nomads had the best chance of succeeding. They were all of Turk or Turkman race; and they took refuge in the fastnesses of Media, of Asia Minor, and of Syria, where they could. Great numbers of townsmen and villagers escaped also in the same directions, even into Egypt. The ancestor of the Ottoman dynasty, from the meadows of the lower Oxus, was among the former, with his tribe; the ancestor of the great dervish family of Qonya (Iconium), from Bactria, was among the latter.

The last throes of the convulsion caused by the invasion of Jengiz appear to have brought about the disruption of the Turkish Seljuqi kingdom of Iconium (founded about A.D. 1087), though no Mongolian prince or captain from his forces ever succeeded in establishing himself in the realm of Asia Minor. Bodies of marauders in great number penetrated into the territory, however, up to, and perhaps beyond, the walls of Iconium. It was on the occasion of a battle fought by the Seljuqi Sultan of Asia Minor against one of those intrusive bodies of Jengizian troops, that the father of the founder of the Ottoman dynasty contributed to a victory over the

invaders. His tribe or following of a few hundred families had fled before Jengiz, as above mentioned, from the neighbourhood of the Oxus, through Persia and across the Euphrates into Syria. After a time, thinking to retrace their steps, their prince, Osman's grandfather, was accidentally drowned in recrossing the Euphrates, and was buried on its bank. Osman's father then conducted his people northwards across the chain of Taurus, and chanced to witness the battle above mentioned. He joined the Sultan of Iconium with his sons and fighting men, and received as guerdon for his timely assistance a tract of rich country in the northern part of the kingdom, on the river Saqariya (Sangarius), with summer-pasturages for his flocks and herds in the hilly district west of that river; and was constituted warden of the marches over against the eastern frontier of the Bithynian province of the waning, distracted Lower Roman Empire. This province appears to have been all then left to that empire in the whole of Asia Minor, excepting the town of Trebizond and a small surrounding district. Smyrna, a district round Adramyttium, some islands in the Ægæan, and a few other castles on the coast were held by the Venetians or Genoese, and Bodrum (Halicarnassus), as well as Rhodes, by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The remainder of Asia Minor had belonged for more than two centuries to that branch of the Turkish dynasty of Seljuq that reigned at Iconium. It had, during that period, become thickly peopled with a Turk population of many millions, emigrants from the towns and villages, or from the hill countries, of Persia and Transoxiana, who had either followed the conqueror from the first,

or been subsequently driven, like Osman's father, to proceed thither, by one or other of the then frequently recurring disturbances that arose in the regions further to the east. The descendants of this dense Turkish population in Asia Minor, of these Seljuqi Turks, are what now constitute, and have from the first formed, the backbone, thews, and sinews of the Ottoman Empire; they are not Turkmans, nor Tatars.

Within fifty years of the time when Osman, with his father, settled over against the frontier of Bithynia, the Seljuqi kingdom of Asia Minor, through unknown intestine causes, had ceased to exist. In its stead, a number of independent Turkish, Turkman, and Kurdish principalities, all Muslim, and all speaking Turkish, except only the Kurds, rose up. The Kurds and Turkmans were more or less mixed up together in the mountains of Taurus, and about the upper waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, which had been formerly a portion of Armenia. A substratum of tributary Christians was found in all these Muslim principalities, chiefly Armenian towards the east, but mostly what, by Europeans, is called "Greek," in the west. With the exception of those who inhabit districts on the sea-coast, these so-called "Greeks" speak Turkish only; and are probably the descendants of various non-Greek aboriginal or intrusive Gothic and other races that became subject to Rome or Constantinople. Their local name, now, as ever since the Christian era, is Rum—Roman, not "Greek." This remark holds equally good of all the so-called "Greek" population of Turkey, in Europe as in Asia. From the time of the Roman conquest they, natives and intruders, all learned to call themselves

Romans. Their Persian neighbours, as also the Muslims of India and Tartary, to this day, designate even the Muslim Ottoman Empire by no other name than "Rum;" and every individual Ottoman subject, Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, who, to this day, goes to Persia, Transoxiana, or India, is termed, as is the Ottoman Turkish language, "Rumi," Roman. Hence also the modern term "Roumania," given to the united Danubian principalities; and hence also the name of "Rum-eyli" or "Roumelia," the land of the Romans, given by the Ottomans and Europeans to Turkey in Europe as a whole, and to the province of Macedonia in particular. There is really very little, if any, properly Greek-descended population in Turkey, or out of it. The race, never numerous, was killed out or dispersed and lost long ago, though a remnant of the old Greek language survives locally as a colloquial patois, round the coasts and here and there in the interior. This has latterly been dressed up anew to serve as a written tongue in commerce and literature. The common name of "Rum," the use of this Roman-Frankish Greek patois, and the liturgy of the eastern church, are the links that unite a very heterogeneous lower Roman mass of three or four millions, when all told, in the Hellenic kingdom, in Turkey, and scatteredly elsewhere, which Europe has been led to call "Greeks."

The breaking up of the Muslim Turkish Seljuqi kingdom of Iconium in about A.D. 1300, gave the "Roman Emperors" of Constantinople hopes of reconquering Asia Minor, or a part thereof.

The course pursued by them became the cause of the foundation of the Ottoman dominion, and of the

dissolution of their own rule. Osman, the warden of the Seljuqi marches, had lived on the best terms with his Roman neighbours. In conformity with orders from Constantinople, he was attacked by them; but the Turkish chieftain proved too good a soldier for his foes. One by one he conquered their castles was invested with a title and banner by the last of his sovereigns; found himself an independent and victorious prince when the Seljuqi kingdom finally came to an end; and, before his death in 1325, had become master of a great part of the Bithynian province, with Brusa, its capital. His son, Orkhan, completed the conquest of Bithynia; and ere he died, in 1359, had become possessed of the Seljuqi principality of Mysia, with its capital, Pergamus, besides acquiring a footing in Europe, round about the Hellespont; having been called in as an auxiliary against the Servians, and their subjects, the Bulgarians, by the "Roman Emperor," who repaid him with treachery, and thereby lost territory as a punishment.

Murad I., who was assassinated in 1389 by a Servian, after gaining the battle of Kossova, effected important conquests in Europe, and enlarged his dominions in Asia Minor, towards the east and towards the south; the whole north-western quarter of the peninsula having submitted to his sway. This little corner furnished enough of Turkish-speaking Turk inhabitants, originally Seljuqi subjects, but now Osmanli warriors, to subjugate and effectually occupy the whole of Thrace and part of Macedonia, to make Servia and Bulgaria declare themselves his subjects, and to alarm all Europe. Several millions of those

Seljuqi-Ottoman Turks were planted as settlers in the newly acquired territories.

Murad's son, Bayezid I.—the Thunderbolt (Yildirim),—with very little more Asiatic territory, defeated combined Europe at Nicopolis, on the Danube, taking prisoners many a French prince and knight, and obliging the King of Hungary to fly by ship, with the galleys of Rhodes, Venice, and Genoa, round by Constantinople and the Adriatic. He pushed his frontiers eastwards in Asia Minor, through Galatia and Cappadocia, to the Euphrates, at the expense of several of the now independent Seljuqi principalities. The dispossessed chieftains fled into Persia, where Timur the Lame—Timuri-leng (Tamerlane)—was then extending his conquests northwards and westwards. Moved by their reclamations, Timur turned his attention to Asia Minor; and eventually, the "Thunderbolt" died in 1401, a prisoner in the hands of the "Lame One," who reinstated the exiled Turkish and Turkman Seljuqi princes, ravaged the whole of Asia Minor to the Ægæan, and then withdrew eastwards, in the intention to go and conquer China. He too died in 1404, on the bank of the Jaxartes, as he was proceeding to carry out that design. A hundred and twenty years later his descendent, Babur, proceeded, in A.D. 1525, with an army of eastern Turks from Transoxiana, to commence the conquest of India, founding there the Turkish dynasty, so erroneously designated "Mogul," which continued there to our day. Transoxiana itself, the centre of Timur's ephemeral power, fell a prey, first to civil discord, and ultimately to Tatar conquest, now succeeded by Russian domination or sovereignty;

while Persia and Turkey, the first not then existent as a State, the latter in ruins, were yet destined to become great and rival empires.

After several years of civil war between the four sons of Bayezid, the sole Ottoman sovereignty was at length revived in 1413 by Muhammed I., who, in a subsequent reign of eight years, was fully occupied in restoring the shattered State to a condition for its future progress to be possible.

Murad II., his son, reigned in all thirty-one years, dying in 1451, after having twice abdicated, and twice remounted the throne on occasions of great emergency, his successor being yet very young. Besides extensive conquests in Europe, he completed the subjugation of Asia Minor, so that Kastamuni and Sinope, Smyrna, Mentesha, Tekka, Caramania, and Janik, all fragments of the disrupted Turkish Seljuqi kingdem of Iconium, were consolidated as Ottoman provinces. They furnished the numerous Turkish armies that completed the occupation of Macedonia, Servia, Bulgaria, and that, in return for aggressions on the Ottoman territory, invaded Wallachia and Hungary. The Armenian and so-called "Greek" or Roman Christian element of the Asiatic provinces had already been subject for nearly four centuries to the Seljuqi kingdom and its heirs, the Turkish, Turkman, or Kurdish princes, and was entirely passive, being unarmed; such contests as occurred in Asia Minor were between Muslims, Ottoman and non-Ottoman respectively.

Meanwhile, on the disappearance of Timur from the scene, while the Ottoman State was being slowly rebuilt and extended in Europe, and in Asia Minor

north of Taurus and west of the river Euphrates, two different, short-lived, Turkman dynasties, those of the "White Sheep" and "Black Sheep" respectively, had risen to power on the ruins of the Eastern Seljuqi and Jengizian monarchies, in the countries of the north Persians, Armenians, and Kurds, at one time holding Georgia and Mesopotamia also. The second of these two devoured the first, greatly extended itself, and then suddenly fell to pieces in 1420, on the death of its most powerful prince, when ready to fight a decisive battle for superiority with the successor of Timur who ruled in Transoxiana and the rest of Persia.

The family of Timur then fell into a state of disunion and anarchy, thereby affording the opportunity for the foundation of a new State. Persia had lain subject to a succession of foreign rulers, and her territory occupied, almost to the exclusion of its old inhabitants, by alien tribes of Arabians, Turks, and Turkmans, ever since the Muslim, Arabian conquest in A.D. 636. The Persian language, side by side with the Turkish and the Arabic, continued to exist and to flourish as a highly polished literary tongue, as well as a spoken dialect, in all the countries that had formerly been provinces of the Persian monarchy. The intrusive Arabs and Turks spoke and cultivated it, but used their own languages for ordinary and for literary purposes among themselves, as is still the case with Turkish in Transoxiana, and for common wants, all over the north of Persia. Arabic is the vernacular in Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, and North Africa; but it is also the legal and religious language

of Turks, Tatars, Persians, and Indian Muslims also.

In the days of the White Sheep dynasty of Turkmans, a princess of the house was given in marriage to a husband who, living at Erdbil, near the south-west corner of the Caspian, was said to be descended from a local saint, buried in that town, and named Shaykh Safiyyu-'d-Din. This Shaykh was, or is reputed to have been, a descendant, through Husayn, the martyr of Kerbela, from Ali, the fourth universal Caliph, cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad. The husband of that princess was killed in a fight with a neighbouring chieftain. Her brother, the White Sheep prince, lent a force to her son, his nephew, with which to avenge his father; but he, too, was killed in the ensuing battle, and his son Isma'il, the future founder of the Safevi dynasty of Persia, had to take to flight and hide for a while. The White and Black Sheep factions contested for the sovereignty; the house of Timur wished to crush both; and the Ottoman was, at a distance, attacking the Black Sheep possessions in Armenia. So soon as the last Black Sheep prince died suddenly, as above mentioned, and the Timurides were in trouble, Isma'il formed a party in his native province of Azarbayjan, gained his first battle there in A.D. 1500, and rapidly gaining ground, was proclaimed Shah. In 1508 he definitively took Bagdad from its last prince of the house of Jengiz; in 1511 he conquered Khurasan, and so on for the most part of Persia.

From his reputed lineage, it was but natural that Isma'il should be of the Shi'a sect of Muslims. Perhaps, being a Shi'i in faith, he or his partizans

invented his reputed genealogy after he had become a powerful sovereign. It is not absolutely impossible that he was a Turk, a Turkish-speaking Turanian, by blood, as are the most part of the inhabitants of Azarbayjan, his native province, to this day; and as is the present Shah of Persia, who belongs to the junior branch of the Turkish tribe of Qajar, and with all his family, uses the Turkish language as the tongue of his house and home. Isma'il's grandmother's marriage partly points that way. He may, however, have been of some kind of old Persian or intrusive Arabian extraction, even a collateral of the family of the "Old Man of the Mountains" of the crusading times, whose fortified seat of Alamut was situated near the locality whence Isma'il sprang. What is certain, however, is that he, by giving a throne to the Shi'a sect, raised that faction to the position of a political power; and, from the accident of his country being Persia, the central region of south-western Asia, he effectually cut the community of Islam in two, severing the eastern Sunnis, the orthodox Muslims of Transoxiana, and subsequently of India, from those of Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, and Africa. Hence a new reason of enmity between modern Persia and Ottoman Turkey was added to the old jealousies of ancient Persia and Greece, of Sassanide Persia and Rome.

The Ottoman power was now engaged in extirpating the last traces of Roman and Seljuqi domination in Asia Minor; Trebizond and some other solitary strongholds being occupied. In Europe, again, Bosnia and the Herzegovina, Albania, the island of Negropont, the Crimea, Constantinople, etc., were conquered.

In the intervals, contests took place between the Ottomans and the Turkmans of Taurus and Armenia; while the rebellion of Prince Jem, brother of Bayezid II., in 1480, and the support given to him by the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, Saladin's eventual successor, had sown enmity in that direction.

Moldavia and Bessarabia were brought into subjection in Europe, and the mountain principalities lying between Asia Minor and the Syrian possessions of Egypt, causing trouble, were successively occupied by the Ottomans. Their princes were Turkmans, who had pulled down the mushroom kingdom of Lower Armenia, that had sprung up out of Roman ruins in the days of the crusades.

Shah Isma'il was naturally desirous to constitute himself the residuary legatee to all that the Black Sheep dynasty had seized; he pushed his conquests, therefore, westward, along the chain of Taurus and its offshoots, to and beyond the Euphrates.

In this manner the rivalries of the three west-Asian Muslim States, the Ottoman, the neo-Persian, and the Syro-Egyptian Mamluks, prepared to contend for the superiority, perhaps for a general dominion over the western world of Islam, the eastern mass of Taurus being the barrier and arena between them.

Sultan Selim I., who succeeded his father, Bayezid II., in 1512, and reigned but nine years, was aware of an understanding between Persia and Egypt against him. He, therefore, rapidly seized various strategic points in that area of Taurus, and pushed on to attack Isma'il in his own territory near the city of Tabriz. On the 23rd August, 1514, he gained the decisive victory of Chaldiran over the Shah. In 1516 he conquered all

Syria, and in 1517 put an end to the rule of the Mamluk Sultans in Egypt; both these countries becoming, with the holy places of Arabia, provinces of the Ottoman empire. The last Caliph of the second line of the Abbasides, who had lived in Egypt under the protection of the Mamluk Sultans ever since the destruction of Bagdad by the grandson of Jengiz in A.D. 1258, was taken to Constantinople by Selim on his return thither, and there, in the mosque of St. Sophia, publicly renounced the office of Caliph of the Muslim world in favour of the Ottoman monarch and his successors; since which period they have borne the joint titles of Sultan and Caliph.

Selim's son, the great Sulayman I., during his long reign of forty-six years, from 1520 to 1566, conquered the whole of Hungary in Europe, the island of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John, the whole of Mesopotamia from the Persians, and the greater part of southern Arabia. He even obtained a footing in India by his Red Sea and Basra fleets. The Ottoman empire had now attained its zenith, reaching from Zagros to Atlas, from the Carpathians to Babu'l-Mandab.

Such, then, is a succinct ethnological and political sketch of the extension of the great Turkish-speaking races, which, during the last thousand years, historically, as for several thousand years before that, legendarily or fragmentarily in alien histories, has played so important a part in the grand drama of human events. It still exists, perhaps some forty or fifty millions strong, in Russia, in Tartary, in Persia, and in Turkey; perchance, to some appreciable extent, in India even; everywhere as a Muslim people,

whose game may, possibly, not yet be quite played out, though a most critical turning-point in the status of their most prominent member, the Ottoman sovereignty, has now been reached, and all Europe is vitally interested in the new direction towards which the current of its being may be bent. Time alone can fully solve this enigma, the germ of the political future of the Old Continent.

Politically, the words Turk and Turkish now admit of several distinct correct applications, according to circumstances.

Firstly, they are synonymous with the word Ottoman; and as the Turkish constitution has declared all subjects of the Sultan to be Ottomans, without distinction of race or religion, there are, politically, in this sense, according to a recent Turkish census, nearly sixty millions of Turks or Ottomans. This corresponds to our own English and Colonial Empire.

Secondly, excluding the six millions of tributaries, natives of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, according to Ignatief's treaty of San Stefano, there remain about fifty-four millions of Turks or imperial Ottomans.

Thirdly, if we again exclude Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis, with their fourteen millions of Africans of various races, though Tunis alone, with six millions, would rightly form this class by itself, we have forty millions left under the direct imperial rule of the Sultan Caliph, or forty-four millions with Tripoli, directly administered from Constantinople.

Fourthly, leaving out about ten millions of Arabic-speaking Ottomans, inhabitants of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, among whom Turkish-speakers vernacu-

larly are not numerous, we get about thirty millions for the vernacularly Turkish-speaking inhabitants of Turkey in Europe and Asia Minor, about half of whom, Turks by race and descent, and for the most part purely so, know no other tongue. Of the remainder, about two-thirds, or ten millions, are Christians of various races and tongues, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, Albanians, and one-third, or five millions, are Muslims; most of whom, Christians and Muslims, speak Turkish as a second vernacular.

Ethnologically, it is still correct to use the words Turk and Turkish as applied to all the Turkish-speaking peoples that live, in Asia, between the Chinese desert of Gobi and the Ægæan, south of a line running through the middle of the Sea of Aral and Caspian, with a considerable offset in south-eastern Europe; but we have to take care that we distinguish, in this vast area, what is really Turk and Turkish from what, in Transoxiana, is now, to a certain extent, Tatar, and from what, in Eastern Persia and in Eastern Ottoman Turkey, is Turkman. Peoples of other tongues, living within that area, are, of course, not ethnological Turks, even when Turks politically.

It is simply a European solecism to apply the name Turk, as is still sometimes, nay, often done, to Muslims who are not Ottoman subjects, who do not speak Turkish, and who live beyond the limits of the Ottoman Empire, as though the word Turk meant, of itself, a man of the faith of Islam.

XIX.—ON TWO GREEK INSCRIPTIONS, FROM KAMIROS AND IALYSOS, IN RHODES, RESPECTIVELY.

BY C. T. NEWTON, ESQ., M.A., C.B.

(Read June 19th, 1878.)

I HAVE to submit to the Society two Greek inscriptions from Rhodes, both of which are in the British Museum. They have a special interest, not only on account of their subject-matter, as I shall hope to show, but also on account of their provenance, one being from Kamiros, the other from Ialysos, two of the three ancient cities in Rhodes, which are mentioned by Homer in the catalogue of the Greek ships at Troy. The tombs on both sites have in recent years yielded a most remarkable series of fictile vases and other antiquities, the most archaic of which present a striking affinity to many of the objects discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Mykenæ. The two inscriptions I have to submit this evening have no claim to such remote antiquity. Their date, probably, falls somewhere in the interval between the building of the city of Rhodes, B.C. 404 and the accession of Alexander the Great.

The decree from Kamiros, which seems the later of the two, is as follows:—

ΕΔΟΞΕΚΑΜΙΡΕΥΣΙΤΑΣΚΤΟΙΝΑΣΤΑΣΚΑΜΙΡΕΩΝΤΑΣ
ΕΝΤΑΙΝΑΣΩΙΚΑΙΤΑΣΕΝΤΑΙΑΓΕΙΡΩΙΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΓΑΣΑΣ
ΚΑΙΕΧΘΕΜΕΙΝΕΣΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΤΑΣΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΣΕΣΤΑΛΑΙ
ΛΙΘΙΝΑΙΧΩΡΙΣΧΑΛΚΗΣΕΞΗΜΕΙΝΔΕΚΑΙΧΑΛΚΗΤΑΙΣ
5 ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗΜΕΙΝΑΙΚΑΧΡΗΙΖΩΝΤΙΕΛΕΣΘΑΙΔΕΑΝΔΡΑΣ
ΤΡΕΙΣΑΥΤΙΚΑΜΑΛΑΟΙΤΙΝΕΣΕΓΙΜΕΛΗΘΗΣΕΥΝΤΙΤΑΥ
ΤΑΣΤΑΣΓΡΑΞΙΟΣΩΣΤΑΧΙΣΤΑΚΑΙΑΓΟΔΩΣΕΥΝΤΑΙ
ΤΩΙΧΡΗΙΞΟΝΤΙΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΥΓΑΡΑΣΧΕΙΝΤΑΝΣΤΑΛΑΝ
ΚΑΙΤΑΣΚΤΟΙΝΑΣΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΚΑΙΕΓΚΟΛΑΨΑΙΕΝΤΑΙΣΤΑ
10 ΛΑΙΚΑΙΣΤΑΣΑΙΕΝΤΩΙΙΕΡΩΙΤΑΣΑΘΑΝΑΣΚΑΙΓΕΡΙΒΟΛΙΒΩ
ΣΑΙΩΣΕΧΗΙΩΣΙΣΧΥΡΟΤΑΤΑΚΑΙΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑΤΑΔΕΤΕ
ΛΕΥΜΕΝΑΕΣΤΑΥΤΑΓΑΝΤΑΤΟΝΤΑΜΙΑΝΓΑΡΕΧΕΙΝ
ΕΓΔΕΤΑΥΤΑΝΤΑΝΚΤΟΙΝΑΝΑΓΟΔΕΙΚΝΥΕΙΝΤΟΥΣ
ΚΤΟΙΝΑΤΑΣΜΑΣΤΡΟΝΕΝΤΩΙΙΕΡΩΙΤΩΙΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΩΙ
15 ΕΝΤΑΙΚΤΟΙΝΑΙΚΑΤΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΤΟΝΤΩΝΡΟΔΙΩΝ
ΤΟΥΤΟΙΔΕΣΥΝΛΕΓΕΣΘΩΝΕΝΚΑΜΙΡΩΙΕΙΣΤΟ
ΙΕΡΟΝΤΑΣΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΣΟΚΚΑΤΟΙΙΕΡΟΓΟΙΟΙΓΑΡΑΓΓ
ΩΝΤΙΚΑΙΑΘΡΕΟΝΤΩΤΑΙΕΡΑΤΑΚΑΜΙΡΕΩΝ...
ΤΓΛΗΓΑΝΤΑΑΙΤΙ

Ἔδοξε Καμιρεῦσι, τὰς κτοίνας τὰς Καμιρέων τὰς | ἐν τᾷ νάσῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν τᾷ ἀπείρῳ ἀναγράψαι πάσας | καὶ ἐχθέμειν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀθαναίας ἐ[ν] στάλᾳ | λιθίνᾳ χωρὶς Χάλκης, ἐξήμειν δὲ καὶ Χαλκήταις | ἀναγραφήμειν αἴκα χρηΐζωντι, ἑλέσθαι δὲ ἄνδρας | τρεῖς αὐτίκα μάλα οἵτινες ἐπιμεληθησεῦντι ταύ | τας τᾶς πράξιος ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ ἀποδοσεῦνται | τῷ χρηΐζοντι ἐλαχίστου παρασχεῖν τὰν στάλαν | καὶ τὰς κτοίνας ἀναγράψαι καὶ ἐγκολάψαι ἐν τᾷ στά | λᾳ καὶ στᾶσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Ἀθανᾶς καὶ περι-βολιβῶ | σαι ὡς ἔχῃ ὡς ἰσχυρότατα καὶ κάλλιστα, τά δὲ τε | λεύμενα ἐς ταῦτα πάντα τὸν ταμίαν παρέχειν, | ἐγ δὲ ταυτᾶν τᾶν κτοινᾶν ἀποδεικνύειν τοὺς | κτοινάτας μάστρον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ | ἐν τᾷ κτοίνᾳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῶν Ῥοδίων, | τοῦτοι δὲ συνλεγέσθων ἐν Καμίρῳ εἰς τὸ | ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀθαναίας ὅκκα τοὶ ἱεροποιοὶ παραγέ | [ν]ωντι καὶ ἀθρεόντω τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Καμιρέων [τὰ δ | αμο]τελῆ? πάντα....

This decree orders that the κτοῖναι of the Kamireans both in the Island and on the Continent are to be inscribed on a marble *stelè*, and set up in the *Hieron* of Athena. The κτοῖναι of Chalke are not included in this order, but the people of that island may, if they think fit, also have their κτοῖναι entered in the register. Three commissioners are to be at once elected, who are to superintend the carrying out the decree, and are to contract for providing a *stelè*, for which the lowest tender is to be accepted. The contractor is to inscribe the κτοῖναι on the *stelè*, to erect it in the *Hieron* of Athena, and to fix it firmly all round with lead. The Treasurer is to defray the cost of all these operations. The κτοινάται or members of the κτοῖναι are to select out of these κτοῖναι a μάστρος, who is to be appointed in the most holy *Hieron* in the κτοῖνα, according to the law of the Rhodians. These, the κτοινάται ?, are to be assembled in Kamiros, in the Hieron of Athena, and on the arrival of the ἱεροποιοί are to inspect the *Hiera* of the Kamireans.

The first question which presents itself in this decree is, who and what are the κτοινάται and κτοῖναι. The word κτοῖνα is not found in ordinary Greek Lexicons. I had, however, inferred from the context that in this inscription it was used in the sense of a district or local division of land. Again, the mention of the μάστρος l. 14, and the ἱεροποιοί l. 17, seemed to point to some religious rites in connection with the κτοῖναι. I had already come to this conclusion, when I stumbled on the word in Hesychios, placed out of its true alphabetical order as follows:—

κτύναι, ἢ κτοῖναι, χωρήσεις προγονικῶν ἱερείων ἢ δῆμος μεμερισμένος. Schmidt in his recent edition of Hesy-

chios marks this entry with an asterisk, because it is out of its alphabetical order, but, since the discovery of this inscription, there is no ground for stigmatizing this entry. The gloss is somewhat obscure. If the words had been χωρήσεις προγονικῶν ἱερῶν, we might have interpreted them "the setting apart of ancestral rites or of sacred precincts inherited from ancestors," but I cannot find that ἱερεία is ever used in that sense, though in the Septuagint it bears the sense of "festival," "sacrifice." The second part of the gloss, δῆμος μεμερισμένος suggests that the κτοῖνα was a deme divided into allotments.

So far as we can gather from this inscription, the κτοῖνα had some analogy with the Attic demes, the introduction of which is attributed to Kleisthenes, and which were districts or parishes which had a common temple or place of assembly within their territory, and in which all the citizens resident in the district were registered. These local demes in Attica must be distinguished from the more ancient *gentes* or groups of families united by a common band of kinsmanship and common rites, though in some instances these *gentes* may have been absorbed into demes.

In an unedited inscription from Kamiros, we have a long list of πάτραι ranged under larger classes, perhaps, φρατρίαι or φυλαί, and these πάτραι may have corresponded at Kamiros with the Attic γένη, while the κτοῖναι may have been local divisions, introduced like the *demi* of Kleisthenes, in the course of some political revolution. But I am not in a condition yet to determine the connection between the Kamirean κτοῖναι and πάτραι.

The μάστρος who is to be chosen by the κτοινάται,

was a magistrate whose name occurs in several Rhodian inscriptions. That from Ialysos, which I publish in this memoir, begins with the heading *ἔδοξε τοῖς Μάστροις καὶ Ἰαλυσίοις*. In like manner a decree of the people of Lindos, edited by Foucart, Rev. Arch. N. S. XV. p. 207, commences *ἔδοξε Μάστροις καὶ Λινδίοις*. But it would seem from a comparison of these three Rhodian decrees, that the *μάστροι* constituted a board of magistrates, chosen by the *κτοινάται* for the regulation of various religious matters. Their authority must have been great, otherwise their name would not have preceded that of the *demos*, both at Lindos and at Ialysos. They are also mentioned in another Rhodian inscription, Ross, Inscript. Ined. III. No. 271, l. 18. Hesychios s. v. says *μάστροι παρὰ Ῥοδίοις βουλευτῆρες* where we must adopt Schmidt's restoration *βουλευτ(αί οἱ καὶ μαστ)ῆρες*. Hrapokration s. v. *μαστῆρες* states that there were *μάστροι* in Pellene, citing as his authority Aristotle de Pellene republica (Fragm. 191, ed. Didot.) Harpokration in this passage considers the *μάστροι* of Pellene as magistrates with functions analogous to the Attic *ζητηταί* and the *μαστῆρες* elsewhere, and defines their office as *ἀρχή τις ἀποδεδειγμένη ἐπὶ τὸ ζητεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ δήμου*, and this is confirmed by the use of *ὑπόμαστροι* in the Andania inscription as the equivalent of *ὑπεύθυνοι*, and by the explanation of *Μαστρίαι* in Hesychios as *αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐθῦναι* (see Sauppe on the Andania inscription, p. 20, and Foucart on the same inscription, in Lebas, Voyage Archéol. Pt. ii. § 5. p. 172.)

The assembly of *κτοινάται* is to meet in the temple of Athena when the *ἱεροποιοί* come, and are to inspect the *ἱερά* of the people of Kamiros. Whether we interpret

ἱερά here in its more usual sense "the sacred precincts round temples," or as "sacred rites," the functionaries assembled were evidently invested with the duty of general supervision, for we can attach no other meaning to the word ἀθρεόντω.

In the Lindian inscription, already referred to, the ἱεροποιοί are associated with the ἱερεῖς and ἱεροθυταί, "sacrificers," standing third in the order of precedence. All three classes were to be elected at Lindos under the supervision of ten commissioners chosen *ad hoc* by the Lindians. The ἱεροποιοί also occur in a list of sacred ministers, inscribed on one of the marbles of the temple of Apollo Erethimios in Rhodes. (Ross, Inscript. Ined. No. 276.) We learn from two Athenian inscriptions (Rangabè, No. 814 and Ephem. Archaiol. No. 3545,) that at Athens the *Hieropoioi* were charged with the duty of conducting the sacrifices. These functions correspond with what is stated about them in the Etym. Magnum and Schol. ad Demosth. Mid., ed. Meier, § 115 and § 171, who says that part of their duty was to inspect sacrifices and victims.

We find from this inscription that some of the κτοῖναι were in the small island of Chalke, which lies on the west of Rhodes, and was probably subject to it at all times; (see Pliny, Hist. Nat. XVII. 4, § 31.) In the matter of registering their κτοινάται at Kamiros, the people of Chalke appear to have been left free, as would be natural if the κτοῖναι were local divisions, having reference to common rites.

The κτοῖναι in the ἄπειρος line 2, must have been on that part of the coast of Asia Minor lying opposite to Rhodes, and called the Peraia. This belonged to

the Rhodians during the time of their independence.

This inscription is written in a strong Doric, in which may be noted, l. 4, ἐξήμειν. l. 2, ἐχθέμειν The infinitive termination, μειν for μεν, is considered by Ahrens, De Dorica dial. p. 315, peculiar to Rhodes and its colonies in Sicily. He notices traces of it in the Sicilian poet, Epicharmos. Compare the inscription from Agrigentum, Böckh, C. I. No. 5491, ibid. 5475, and the Rhodian inscriptions, ibid. 2525 b., 2905.

l. 6, ἐπιμεληθησεῦντι, l. 7, ἀποσωσεῦνται compare infra, τελεύμενα and κρινεῦντι, διαλυσεῦντι, ὑπαρξεῦντι in an inscription from Kalymna, Böckh, 2671.

l. 10, περιβολιβῶσαι for περιμολυβδῶσαι . μόλιβος, μολιβόω are given in the Lexicons as poetic forms of μόλυβδος, μολυβδόω.

According to our reading of Hesychios, s. v., the Syracusans wrote βάμβα, for βάμμα, but Ahrens, p. 86, doubts whether Hesychios was right in identifying these two words, and Schmidt, in his edition of Hesychios, corrects βάμμα for βάμβα. The converse change of μ for β is noted in certain Lakonian words by Hesychios, Ahrens, p. 85.

l. 3 and 17 we have Ἀθαναίας, l. 10, Ἀθανᾶς, the first, would, probably, be the older form. line 3, ἐ στάλᾳ, the ν has been omitted through oversight in the preposition.

I have now to submit the inscription from Ialysos

ΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙΣΜΑΣΤΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΙΑΛΥΣΙΟΙ.
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΣΑΛΚΙΜΕΔΟΝΤΟΣΕΙΓΕ
ΟΓΩΣΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ
ΤΑΣΑΛΕΚΤΡΩΝΑΣΕΥΑΓΗΤΑΙΚΑ
5 ΤΑΤΑΓΑΤΡΙΑΕΓΙΜΕΛΗΘΗΜΕΙΝ
ΤΟΥΣΙΕΡΟΤΑΜΙΑΣΟΓΩΣΣΤΑΛΑΙ
ΕΡΓΑΣΘΕΩΝΤΙΤΡΕΙΣΛΙΘΟΥΛΑΡΤ
ΟΥΚΑΙΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗΙΕΣΤΑΣΣΤΑΛΑ
ΣΤΟΤΕΨΑΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΔΕ<ΑΙΑΟΥΧΟ
10 ΣΙΟΝΕΝΤΙΕΚΤΩΝΝΟΜΩΝΕΣΦΕ
ΡΕΙΝΟΥΔΕΕΙΣΟΔΟΙΓΟΡΕΙΝΕΣΤΟΤΕ
ΜΕΝΟΣΚΑΙΤΑΕΓΙΤΙΜΙΑΤΩ.ΓΡΑΣ
ΣΟΝΤΙΓΑΡΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΘΕΜΕΙΝΔΕ
ΤΑΣΣΤΑΛΑΣΜΙΑΝΜΕΝΕΓΙΤΑΣΕΣΟ
15 ΔΟΥΤΑΣΕΚΓΟΛΙΟΣΓΟΤΙΓΟΡΕΥΟΜΕ
ΝΟΙΣΜΙΑΝΔΕΥΓΕΡΤΟΙΣΤΙΑΤΟΡΙΟΝ
ΑΛΛΑΝΔΕΕΓΙΤΑΣΚΑΤΑΒΑΣΙΟΣΤΑ.
ΕΞΑΧΑΙΑΣΓΟΛΙΟ¯
ΝΟΜΟΣΑΟΥΧΟΣΙΟΝΕΣΙΜΕΙΝΟΥΔΕ
20 ΕΣΦΕΡΕΙΝΕΣΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΤΕ
ΜΕΝΟΣΤΑΣΑΛΕΚΤΡΩΝΑΣΜΗΕΣΙ
ΤΩΙΓΓΟΣΟΝΟΣΗΜΙΟΝΟΣΓΙΝΟΣ
ΜΗΔΕΑΛΛΟΛΟΦΟΥΡΟΝΜΗΘΕΝΜΗ
ΔΕΕΣΑΓΕΤΩΕΙΣΤΟΤΕΜΕΝΟΣΜΗ
25 ΘΕΙΣΤΟΥΤΩΝΜΗΘΕΝΜΗΔΕΥΓΟΔΙ-
ΜΑΤΑ...ΦΕΡΕΤΩΜΗΔΕΥΕΙΟΝΜΗ
ΘΕΝΟΤΙΔΕΚΑΤΙ_ΓΑΡΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝ
ΓΟΙΗΣΗΙΤΟΤΕΙΕΡΟΝΚΑΙΤΟ¯ΕΜΕΝΟΣ
ΚΑΘΑΙΡΕΤΩΚΑΙΕΓΙΡΕΞΕΤΩΗΕΝΟ
30 ΧΟΣΕΣΤΩΤΑΙΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΙΕΙΔΕΚΑ
ΓΡΟΒΑΤΑΕΙΣΒΑΛΗΙΑΓΟΤΕΙΣΑΤΩΥ
ΓΕΡΕΚΑΣΤΟΥΓΡΟΒΑΤΟΥΟΒΟΛΟΝ
ΟΕΣΒΑΛΩΝΓΟΤΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΤΩΔΕ
ΤΟΝΤΟΥΤΩΝΤΙΓΟΙΕΥΝΤΑΟΧΡΗΙ
ΞΩΝΕΣΤΟΥΣΜΑΣΤΡΟΥΣ

Ἔδοξε τοῖς Μάστροις καὶ Ἰαλυσίοι[ς] | Στράτης Ἀλκιμέδοντος εἶπε | ὅπως τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος | τᾶς Ἀλεκτρώνας εὐαγῆται· κα | τὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἐπιμεληθήμειν | τοὺς ἱεροταμίας ὅπως στάλαι | ἐργασθέωντι τρεῖς λίθου λάρτ | ου καὶ ἀναγραφῇ ἐς τὰς στάλα | ς τό τε ψάφι[σ]μα τόδε καὶ ἃ οὐχ ὅ | σιόν ἐντι ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐσφέ | ρειν οὐδὲ εἰσοδοιπορεῖν ἐς τὸ τέ | μενος καὶ τὰ ἐπιτίμια τῷ πράσ | σοντι παρὰ τὸν νόμον,[θ]έμειν δὲ | τὰς στάλας, μίαν μὲν ἐπὶ τᾶς ἐσό | δου τᾶς ἐκ πόλιο[ς] ποτιπορευομέ | νοις, μίαν δὲ ὑπὲρ τ[ὸ] ἱστιατόριον | , ἄλλαν δὲ ἐπὶ τᾶς καταβάσιος τᾶ[ς] | ἐξ Ἀχαΐας π[ό]λιος. | Νόμος ἃ οὐχ ὅσιον ἐσίμειν οὐδὲ | ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέ | μενος τᾶς Ἀλεκτρώνας· μὴ ἐσί | τω ἵππος, ὄνος, ἡμίονος, γῖνος | μηδὲ ἄλλο λόφουρον μηθὲν μη | δὲ ἐσαγέτω εἰς τὸ τέμενος μη | θεὶς τούτων μηθὲν μηδὲ ὑποδή | ματα [εἰς]φερέτω μηδὲ ὕειον μη | θὲν· ὅ τι δέ κά τις παρὰ τὸν νόμον | ποιήσῃ τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος | καθαιρέτω καὶ ἐπιρεζέτω ἢ ἔνο | χος ἔστω τᾷ ἀσεβείᾳ· εἰ δέ κα | πρόβατα εἰσβάλῃ, ἀποτεισάτω ὑ | πὲρ ἑκάστου προβάτου ὀβολὸν | ὁ ἐσβάλων· ποταγγελλέτω δὲ | τὸν τούτων τι ποιεῦντα ὁ χρή | ζων ἐς τοὺς Μάστρους.

This is a decree of the Mastroi and Ialysians, ordering the consecration, according to the ancient prescription, *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*, of the *Hieron* and *temenos* of the Goddess Alektrona. The Hierotamiæ are ordered to engrave the decree on three marble *stelæ*, and to place one of them in the entrance from the city (to the *temenos*), another above the *Hestiatorion*, and a third on the road leading downwards from the city Achaia.

Then follows the law itself, which declares what animals and objects it is not permitted to introduce into the *Hieron* and *temenos* of Alektrona. The animals are the horse, the ass, the mule, the *γῖνος*, which, according to Aristotle, was the foal of a mare

by a mule, and all other beasts of burthen. No one is to enter the *temenos* with sandals or any article made of hog's leather; any one transgressing this prohibition will have to purify the *Hieron* and *temenos*, and to offer sacrifices, or to be liable to a prosecution for impiety, *ἀσέβεια*. Any one introducing sheep into the sacred precinct must pay an *obolos* for each sheep. Any one who thinks proper may denounce such transgressors to the *Mastroi*.

The goddess Alektrona, whose sacred precinct is thus jealously guarded by this law, is evidently identical with Elektryonè, who, according to Diodoros, v. 56, was the daughter of the god Helios and the nymph Rhodos, and who, dying a virgin, was worshipped with heroic honours by the Rhodians. According to Diodoros, Elektryonè had seven brothers called the Heliadæ, two of whom, Kerkaphos and Ochimos, settled in the territory of Ialysos, and there founded the strong city of Achaia, reigning there in succession. Kerkaphos, who succeeded his brother in the kingdom, had three sons, Lindos, Ialysos, Kamiros, each of whom gave his name to the city which he founded. The name Alektrona or Elektryonè, as Diodoros gives it, is evidently derived from the same root as *ἠλέκτωρ*, the name for the sun in Homer, *Ἠλεκτρυών*, *ἤλεκτρον*, *Ἠλέκτρα*, *ἀλεκτρυών*, *ἀλέκτωρ*. See G. Curtius, 'Grundzüge,' 4th edition, p. 136, No. 24.

l. 3, *τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος*. Here these two sacred precincts are clearly distinguished. The *Hieron* is usually considered to be the sacred ground round the temple *ναός*, corresponding with the Close of a cathedral. The *temenos* was probably an outer precinct.

l. 7, *λίθου λάρτου*. The word *λάρτος* is unknown to

the Lexicographers, but occurs in the slightly modified form, λάρτιος, in two other Rhodian inscriptions; one from Rhodes published by Röhl, in the 'Mittheilungen d. Deutsch. Inst. in Athen,' 1877. p. 228, l. 7, ἐπὶ βάσιος λίθου λαρτίου not δ'ἀρτίου, as Röhl reads; the other from Hierapytna in Krete, published in Cauer, Delectus, p. 56, l. 99. ὅπως ἐργασθῇ πέτρας λαρτίας. The epithet λάρτος or λάρτιος must denote either the kind of stone to be employed, or the locality whence it was to be obtained. Our only information as to this is furnished by an examination of the stone on which the Ialysos decree is engraved, which is the blue limestone known as fœtid, from the smell which it emits when fractured. I have not been able to ascertain whether the other two inscriptions, in which the word Λάρτιος occurs, are on the same kind of stone.

l. 18, ἐξ Ἀχαΐας. This is the name of the strong fortress in the Ialysian territory, mentioned by Diodoros, v. 57, and in a fragment of the Rhodian writer, Ergeias, preserved in Athenæus, VIII. p. 360. It is probably the same fortress as that which Strabo calls Ὀχύρωμα, the citadal of Ialysos, now called Phileremo.

l. 25. The prohibition of the wearing sandals within the *temenos* reminds us of the injunction to Moses, Ex. III. 5. "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

In the Andania decree regulating the Mysteries of the Great Gods, it is ordered that those who celebrate the Mysteries shall be bare-footed, and in the procession no one is to wear shoes, unless they are made either of felt or of the skins of the victims offered in the festival.

The functions of the *Μάστροι*, mentioned in the first and last lines, have been described by me in the earlier part of this memoir.

According to the fragment of Ergeias in Athenæus, to which I have already referred, there was a Phœnician settlement at Achaia, in Rhodes, governed by Phalanthos, which was taken after a long siege by the Greek settler, Iphiklos. According to another tradition, preserved by Diodoros, v. 58, Kadmos, having dedicated a *temenos* to Poseidon, in Rhodes, left some Phœnicians there to have care of it, and these united with the Ialysians in one community. He adds that the priests in Ialysos are said to have traced the descent of their hereditary priesthood up to these Phœnician settlers.

It seems at first sight a plausible theory to connect the worship of the solar deity Alektrona at Ialysos with the Phœnician worship of Baal, and the strictness with which all that was unclean was debarred access to her *temenos*, seems to indicate a Semitic source for the ritual, which the expression *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια* shows to have been handed down from remote times. Such a connection with an earlier Semitic religion seems more clearly indicated by the human sacrifices, which, according to Porphyry, De abstin. II. § 54, were anciently offered in Rhodos to Kronos, and of which the barbarity was in after times mitigated by the substitution of a criminal whose life was already forfeit to the law for the victim of earlier times. But we hardly know enough yet either of Greek or of Semitic ritual to establish traces of a connection between them. I would observe in conclusion that this *stelè* was found by Mr. Consul

Biliotti in the course of excavations a little to the east of the hill now called Phileremo, and on which must have stood the Akropolis of Ialysos.

If, as I suppose, this Akropolis was the Achaia of the early legends, from which the Phœnicians were expelled by the Greeks, the place where the *stelè* was found might well be the *κατάβασις ἐξ Ἀχαΐας* where one of the *stelæ* was to be set up, for here the ground slopes gradually from Phileremo to the plain below.

Mr. Biliotti states that the *stelè* when found was standing upright in its original socket, about six feet below the surface of the ground, but that no trace of foundations could be found near it. It may be that the spot where the *stelè* was standing was its original site on the road leading from the Akropolis to the plain below.

P.S. Since I wrote the above, my colleague, Mr. Percy Gardiner, has pointed out to me, on small gold and copper coins of Rhodes, dating from the third century, B.C., a head which is probably intended for that of Alectrona. This head is radiate, but distinctly female in type, and bearing the female adornments of *Stephane* and earrings. Its solar character would better suit Alectrona than the sea-nymph Rhodos. The coin is figured in the Hunter Catalogue, Pl. xlv. 15.; Mionnet Suppl. vol. vi. Pl. viii. 4.

XX.—THE MODERN GREEKS CONSIDERED AS A NATIONALITY.

BY SIR PATRICK COLQUHOUN, M.A., LL.D., Q.C.

(Read June 19th, 1878.)

In the Levant there is a numerous population to be found in the more important commercial towns and seaports who pass under the general designation of "Greeks." The Patois spoken by this class of persons is the ordinary commercial language of the eastern Mediterranean, and in that portion has in a great measure superseded the Italian, which, since the domination of Venice and the Italian republics, formed the medium of communication. During the last 50 years, and notably since the establishment of the Greek kingdom, this jargon has been cultivated so as to become that which it scarcely was before, a written language, in which mercantile correspondence is conducted instead of in Italian as heretofore. The process by which this has been arrived at is highly artificial; words and expressions never before heard of in Romaic have been borrowed from classical authors, and substituted for the Turkish, Italian, and other foreign words theretofore in use. The University established at Athens,

has contributed materially to the formation of this language, seconded by the public Press and the Courts of Law and other forensic use. Its progress may be judged by a comparison of the official Ordinances and Gazettes published on the accession of King Otho, with those of the present day. Before the establishment of the Greek kingdom the denomination of this class of people was invariably Romaioi (Ῥωμαιόι), but since then the subjects of that kingdom have acquired the designation of Hellenes (Ἕλληνες) and Γραικόι, terms unknown before that period, and which must be therefore considered as an official nomenclature inapplicable to any but subjects of the Greek Crown. From the above period the Greeks have begun to assert a descent from the Hellenic tribes of classical antiquity, and by dint of repeating and asseverating a purely mythical pedigree, have succeeded, like the *parvenus* of modern times who claim gentility, in persuading themselves of the truth of the assertion. The inordinate conceit and painful historical ignorance of this class—for, except the professors in the University, it would be most difficult to find any one who could read the most ordinary classical Greek work—has materially contributed to this error, become, nevertheless, so prevalent, that authors of distinguished reputation have condescended to refute the fallacy, and seriously set to work to destroy this Temple of Vanity, with all the erudition and research for which German professors are especially renowned: Ulrichs, and Ross among the Germans, and the eminent Byzantine Historian and Philhellene Finlay among our own countrymen, can

discover no trace or remnant of the old Greek Tribes, while Forchhammer repudiates the pretensions of the modern Greeks as a ridiculous and impudent assumption, unsupported by historical proof or even bare possibility. Certain it is that 50 years ago no such idea existed, and it has grown out of a mere official name.

The authors who came to a conclusion adverse to the claim of descent were not mere bookworms, writing in their studies in Leipzig, Halle, or Berlin, but men long resident in the country, and some of them the occupants of chairs in the Otho University. George Finlay, an Honorary Member of this Society, passed upwards of 50 years of his life at Athens, where he wrote not only his histories, but many less serious works in the modern dialect for the information of the population at large, and died there in 1876. Dr. Ross was a Professor at Athens and subsequently at Halle; Dr. Ulrichs died a Professor of Latin at Athens: both have written in Romaic.

The old Hellenic race derived that designation from a town in Thessaly, the whole of which passed under that denomination.

It included Arcadia, Attica, Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Bœotia, and Phocis, and was generally applied to the entire Greek area. The word *Γραικός*, was revived by Sophocles (ap. Eustath. 890. 14), and is equivalent to the modern expression Palikari, or *Ἥρως*, of the ancient language, but it has not yet occurred to them to call themselves *Ἀχαιοί*! The ancient Hellenic Race differed from the Pelasgic, in that while the former affiliated and absorbed extraneous elements, the latter admitted no foreigners, and consequently died

out sooner than the Hellenic, but at least remained pure as long as it endured.

In addition to the population contained within the Hellenic area, there were numerous colonies beyond it, extending along the coast of Asia Minor, and including the Islands of the Archipelago. The furthest northern colony was the Republic of Cherson, in the Modern Crimea, described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in whose age, however, it had long ceased to exist, having been entirely destroyed by Justinian II. in 711. Previously to this, the Goths in the age of Aurelian subdued the Bosporus, plundered the cities of Bythinia, ravaged Greece and Illyricum, and pursued their conquests until stopped by Constantine the Great; strengthened by their countrymen, they overran and finally settled in Thrace. Under Alaric, they desolated Greece in 396; and in the reign of Justinian the lawgiver, the Slavonian Race under the designation of Huns or Bulgarians or Volgarians, in 520, extirpated the inhabitants and wasted the habitations of Greece, under two gangs crossing the Hellespont, and penetrating to Corinth by Thermopylæ. Their wars were not wars of conquest, but, like those of their modern successors, wars of extermination, slaying all who were useless as slaves, of whom on this occasion they carried off 120,000. Their cruelties created a panic of alarm; they impaled and flayed alive their captives without distinction of age or sex, suspended them between posts and beat them to death with clubs, or enclosed and burned them alive in large buildings, with such of the spoil and cattle as they were unable to carry off: thus, the modern Bulgarians, their lineal descend-

ants, have a precedent in their forerunners and ancestors in race. The Greek area, was not desolated once but repeatedly, until the original inhabitants were dispossessed and supplanted by barbarous Slavonians, the ancestors of the present inhabitants of the Hellenic kingdom, Thessaly and Macedonia.

In like manner, the Greek colonies of the coast of Asia Minor and Africa were extruded by the invading races of Asia. Alexandria was possessed by the incursions from the East. Berytus (Beirout), and Iskenderoon (Sinus Issacus), and Tripoli of Syria shared the same fate. Cyprus formed the western limit of the Great Armenia, peopled by the advancing hordes of the Turkish race. Halicarnassus ceased to exist, with the other Ionian colonies of the Ægean and islands of the Archipelago and Smyrna. In later times these islands were again occupied by the Venetians and Genoese, so that ultimately every trace of the original Greek element was extirpated, *μήδε ἴχνος σώζεται.*

Crete, from the earliest times with but an indifferent reputation, and notorious for its robberies, piracies, and unnatural offences, is now composed of a population of mixed descent, collected from all that is bad in the Levant of every conceivable origin—Venetian, Dalmatian, Southern Italians, and Italians from the east coast, Asiatics, and immigrants from the African coast, so that perhaps it may be difficult to determine what race prevails in this *refugium peccatorum,* than which there is no more lawless place in the Levant. Its harbours and nooks are admirably adapted and taken advantage of for piracy, of which its harbour of Suda, the finest and safest, is capable of

containing in security the combined navies of the world. Nor is there any island in the Mediterranean more important to Great Britain as a sentinel posted on the high-road to Egypt, and India, and the key of the Archipelago. Crete should never be allowed to pass into the hands of a weak or rival power. In extent, it is considerable, and in importance superior to Malta. Its population is Muhammedan and Christian of the oriental Church, but the language of both is Romaic Greek, of the most corrupt type, and the name Cretan a byeword.

The ancient Greek or Hellenic population, never very numerous within the old Greek area, and sometimes reduced to a minimum, as in the case of the Helot propagation in Sparta, became more and more adulterated and ultimately expunged, so that it may be safely asserted there is far less possible trace of it than of the Keltic race in Saxon England.

With regard to the language, heretofore called Romaic but now called Hellenic, it bears the strongest philological evidence of foreign origin—of the language of an intrusive people who originally spoke another tongue, which they translated into Greek words, while retaining their own idioms, grammar and construction. The infinitive of the verb is hopelessly lost; the dative is represented by a preposition, the genitive is used for the dative, the accusative for the nominative, an auxiliary is invoked to form a future, the pronouns are corrupted into suffixes as in Italian, the government of the prepositions is lost and an accusative takes the place of the genitive and dative; indeed, in the whole structure of the language there is nothing of the Greek type, though something analogous to "nigger English."

In thus representing it, I must be understood as speaking of the vernacular, the language "understanded of the people," not of that artificial language invented by professors at Athens, Newspaper writers, Parliamentary orators, and advocates who would emulate Demosthenes, or the official language in which documents are drawn up, but of which the mass of the people is ignorant—nor even the less refined diction of commercial correspondence. The limited vocabulary of the Romaic unfitted it for aught but the most ordinary transactions of every-day life, so that when it is required to be used for higher purposes, it becomes necessary to introduce either foreign words or resort to the ancient language for the expression of abstract ideas, or use Italian or French. Still this is not the ordinary language of the people, and the deputy or advocate who has been "chopping Hellenisms" all day will come home and rate his wife or children, or converse with his friend, in the vernacular termed "simple ἁπλός," in which words have acquired a signification never attached to them in classical Greek.

But even this vernacular is not spoken by all who now call themselves Greeks. The inhabitants of Asia, professing the Oriental form of Christianity, speak Turkish, though they may have learned to repeat the Credo or Pater-noster, like parrots, in ancient Greek, still the language of the Church; and though the Liturgy is not understood, even by the priesthood, it is repeated as a Western churchwoman repeats Latin prayers. The priesthood of Asia, with few exceptions, are innocent even of the vernacular, and speak Turkish.

In like manner, there is a very considerable popu-

lation in the kingdom of Greece of Albanian origin, which speaks Romaic-Greek as a foreign tongue more or less well—or not at all. The Hydriots are of Albanian descent and preserve that language; and in Eleusis, 40 years ago, I could find no one with whom I could converse in Romaic; the population consisted of immigrated Albanians whose language bears no analogy to any other known tongue, and was first fundamentally examined, reduced to writing, and philologically fixed by Dr. von Hahn.

Of this vernacular Romaic there are many dialects, still not so divergent as to be incomprehensible, and camelion-like they always reflect the original local language, so much so that the birthplace of the speaker can be recognised.[1] In the islands, Italian;[2] on the Asiatic coast and Constantinople, Turkish; in Attica, Albanian, and among the educated classes, French; producing the most ridiculous results—the result of the literal translation of the language in which the speaker thinks.

Ethnologically there is no trace of the old Greek type among any of the Levantine Romaic-speaking classes, while the Slavonian and Albanian and Italian types are strongly marked. Neither Prichard nor Latham have been able to detect the slightest remnant characteristic of the Greek statues, while those of more recent races are obvious.

When Constantine the Great removed the seat of Government from Rome to Byzantium, he took with

[1] In the Island of Cyprus the ancient word λευκός is used, not ἄσπρος as elsewhere.

[2] Those of the Roman communion all likewise speak Italian, being descended from the Venetians or Genoese.

him such of the more docile patricians as chose to accompany him and form his Court.

The official language continued to be Latin even to the time of Justinian the Lawgiver, while the vernacular was certainly Greek inherited from the colonies which settled Chrysopolis and Byzantium; but even at this epoch there were two co-existent dialects, that used by the people, of which we have a specimen when Justinian reproved the Circus factions as Blues and Greens, which to us is now incomprehensible, except in so far that it was clearly coarsely abusive, and the literary Byzantine-Greek, which, with the exception of occasional barbarisms, was classical and infinitely superior to the Judaic-Greek of the New Testament. Of this there is a plentiful supply in the Byzantine authors of different epochs —Anna Commena, daughter of Alexius, Niketas, Athenæus (194), Eusebius (300), Zozimus (410), Procopius (534–59), the καίναι διατάξεις or Novellæ Constitutiones of Justinian, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (711), and innumerable others, not to mention the ecclesiastical writers.

The early Christian Liturgies were also exclusively Greek, and used even in the west for some centuries, until they at length were superseded by the Latin long before the final separation of the Churches under Photius.

The Oriental Christian Church has been the principal means of preserving the idiom, which would otherwise probably have died out.

We owe our accentuation to Aristophanes, the grammarian, who invented accents and breathings to preserve the pronunciation by marking the stress to be laid on a particular syllable; the necessity for this

device demonstrates sufficiently the corrupt state into which the spoken language had at that early period fallen. He was keeper of the Alexandrian Library under Ptolemy Evergetes (or Kakergetes?) and by birth a Byzantine.

The inhabitants of the island of Chios were Jews, who, on retiring from business in the capital, resorted to this delightful spot to end their days. Justinian, whose Christianity was of that very orthodox and persecuting type of which we have now such a striking specimen, weighed so heavily on the Jews, Arians, Manichæans, and other heretics by his edicts that the former were unable to pursue their commerce, and, therefore, accepted the outward semblance of conformity without real apostacy;[3] in progress of time, however, they gradually accepted Christianity, but still retained their exclusive customs, and are to this day designated Chiot Greeks, whose headquarters are now in the lower or commercial town of Syra: these were the people who sent the first Greek colony to London and Manchester, of which Mr. Pantia Ralli was the pioneer, about 1827. The Jewish facial type of these Chiots is unmistakable, even after so many ages, and can only be explained by the conservancy of their habits and the exclusiveness of their intercourse.

There had been a previous immigration under the Charleses, of Byzantine Greeks, who lived in the Soho district, whence Greek Street derives its name, and a still earlier one soon after 1453, when Ancient Greek was introduced into Europe by the Byzantine refugees.

[3] These were technically called "Motaras."

The ancient Greek or Hellenic race was then clearly extinct, and the language was preserved in its purity merely as a literary vehicle by Byzantine authors of various non-Hellenic races, as Latin was generally used in Northern Europe for the same purpose even within the memory of persons now living; indeed, it is still not wholly extinct. Yet no one will contend that Puffendorf, Heineck, Grotius, or that class of authors who wrote in Latin, were Romans or of Roman descent, nor that the Hungarians and Poles had Roman blood, nor that the later Byzantine emperors had any claim to be either Roman or Greek.

A patois combined of various barbarous idioms, into which Greek also entered, was the popular vernacular of Constantinople. The persons who used it were designated as Romans or *Ῥωμαιόι*, subjects of the state of Rome, and have ever been so designated without in the least implying them to have been of Roman descent in the strict meaning of the term, but only as possessing the rights of Roman citizenship.

It would be as reasonable to call Hindus Englishmen, and as erroneous to refuse to them the title of "British subjects," the equivalent of "Roman" in the Byzantine empire; for Greeks they were never called.

It is, however, little known beyond the Levant, that the confession of faith rules in the place of nationality, in consequence of this being too mixed among the Christian population to afford any definite guide or represent any definite idea.

Those would be vulgarly called Greeks who profess the Oriental Church; those Catholics, Italians or Latins who belong to the Western Church, notwithstanding

that the one may be an Albanian or a Slav by race and speak no Greek, or he may speak Greek as in Crete and yet be a Muslim of Asiatic race. Thus, two of three brothers might respectively profess the Oriental and Western forms of Christianity and the third Islam, which is not without example in Albania and even elsewhere, and would be familiarly described as a Greek, a Catholic, and a Turk.

Religion overrides race. Foreigners pass under the general designation of Franks—a term certainly as old as the Crusades—and foreign Europe generically under that of "Frengistân," very much as the Chinese speak of "western barbarians."

There are many Roman Catholics in the Levant who speak only Romaic, but who cannot read the Greek character; for such, Greek is printed in Roman letters; and I have seen Muhammedan Cretans write Greek in Turkish character.

These being the facts, it may naturally be asked who are these Greeks of whom we are hearing so much at present?

By descent they are certainly not of the Hellenic but of a Slav race. Will then their profession of the Oriental Christianity and their tongue constitute them Greeks?

Will the additional fact that they occupy the area which two or three thousand years ago was inhabited by the Greeks or Hellenes of classic story, constitute them Greeks? If so, we arrive at the contradiction that all the Muslim who live there are Greeks, and that a man is a horse if he be born in a stable.

If these combined circumstances will not constitute

a Greek, *a fortiori*, some of them alone will not do so. Neither the faith alone, nor the tongue alone, nor the accident of birth alone, nor the combination of any two of these three.

As races, there are but five in the Turkish empire:

The Turanian or Turkish race.
The Arab race.
The Slav race.
The Albanian or Skipetar race.
The Jewish race.

The rest, with some unimportant exceptions, such as the Copts and Fellahs of Egypt, are all mixed races; indeed so hopelessly intermingled that it would be impossible to assign them to any extinct ethnological group.

These are the descendants of the ancient *Ῥωμαιοί* or Christian subjects of the Lower Roman Empire extinguished 425 years ago. Some of these, and notably such as, being Christians, inhabit the old Greek area, claim to be Greeks, with what right or title I have already shown.

Who then are entitled to the designation of Greeks or Hellenes?

Those, and those only, on whom the consent of Europe has conferred that designation. Those so constituted by the Treaty of 1832, by which a portion of the ancient Hellenic area was erected into what never existed in classical times—a kingdom, with a sovereign whose official title is *Βασιλεύς τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. Had he been created *Βασιλεύς τῆς Πελοποννήσου*, we should probably have never heard of the revived term of Hellenes and Greeks. The designa-

tion belongs to the subjects of King George by law and by no other title, and none else has any right or claim to it.

The three Powers, parties to the Treaty, thought well to give them this name in preference to any other; and, at one time, they were so jealous of this exclusive privilege that they called themselves Hellenes (Ἕλληνες), and all others, not fellow-subjects, Ῥωμαιοί. And what better right have the inhabitants of Thessaly and Macedonia to be called Greeks than their fellow Christian subjects in Asia and elsewhere.

The Roumanians, on the other hand, who call themselves in their own language Romun, ambition the title repudiated by their co-religionists in Thessaly and Macedonia of Romans.

The ancient Dacia, to which Wallachia and Moldavia in part belong, was colonized by Romans and was a place of exile. Their language (called by themselves "Roumuneshti") has retained a Latin basis, and in this respect bears an analogy with Romaic, though it must be seriously doubted whether the Roumanians "have any of the blood of the first purchaser." Nevertheless they, like the subjects of King George, have obtained by Treaty a designation to which they are thereby intitled. Yet we do not hear of the numerous Wallachs, who inhabit European Turkey, the Austrian and Russian dominions, calling themselves Roumanians!

Greece is, therefore, not encouraging the Thessalians and Macedonians to assert the title of Greek for their own benefit, but for the aggrandisement of her own kingdom. Thus a notorious ex-Minister was

right when he advised them to make common cause with the Russian Slavs, for Slavs both are principally by race; but it would put his scholarship to a severe test, nor would he probably think of attempting, to prove them Hellenes or Greeks in any sense whatever except officially—that is, by public law.

XXI.—ON TWO ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, *Hon. Librarian.*

(Read 22nd November, 1876.)

In the course of my researches into the ecclesiastical and monastic history of England, I have never failed to look upon two remarkable manuscripts in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, numbered Titus D. xxvi. and xxvii. with more than ordinary feelings of interest. Although these two manuscripts are now separately bound, there is no doubt that they originally were united under one cover, and that the two parts form, when taken together, a most valuable relic of the closing days of the Saxon rule in England. Their size, the general appearance, the similarity of the vellum, of the handwriting, of the styles of diction which they exhibit in their leaves, the closely allied nature of their contents, the spirit of their pages, so to speak, all point unmistakably to the conclusion that they are the collective work of one hand, and that they formed the stock of wisdom stored up by one individual at a period when the fortunate possessor of such a volume would indeed have passed as knowing much beyond the ordinary run of his con-

temporaries. That these books belonged to a church dignitary is a matter of course, when we remember that all science in the tenth and eleventh century in England, with hardly an exception reposed in ecclesiastical people exclusively.

I propose, on this occasion, to devote the space at my command to bringing before the notice of the Royal Society of Literature some of the most salient points of interest which may be gathered from these volumes, which indeed do not contain a single leaf that is not worthy of patient consideration, that is not capable of extensive illustration, and that is not capable of rendering to the enquirer a rich reward for his researches. My notices are devoted to the history of the MSS., wherein I shall endeavour, and I think successfully, to fix the date and the locality of their execution; and to their principal contents, which I shall briefly describe and illustrate with literary parallels and lights thrown upon them by other sources of information.

Before proceeding further it will be as well if I say that the title is given in the folio Catalogue of the Cotton Manuscripts, printed in 1802, as:

TITUS D. XXVI.

Codex membranaceus in 8vo. minori foliis constans 80, sec. x.

followed by a list of 16 articles in nearly similiar language to that of the *Elenchus Contentorum* which has been written on the fly-leaf of the manuscript by one of Sir Robert Cotton's librarians, and which I shall give in full lower down. This description is certainly capable of improvement, although it is

pretty faithful as regards the general character of the volume. The handwriting of the *Elenchus* is of the date of the seventeenth century, and writing resembling it may be found in a very large number of Sir Robert Cotton's manuscripts. I am by no means sure that it is not that of the well-known Richard James, to whom the arrangement of the contents of this world-renowned collection of manuscripts was in some measure entrusted.

ELENCHUS contentorum in hoc codice.

1. Institutio Saxonica docens quae pietas et orationes certis diebus sint praestandae.
2. Annorum computatio, ubi ad finem sic "A nativitate Domini usque ad adventum Antechristi Anni DCCCC.XCX.
3. De lignis crucis.
4. De diebus Ægyptiacis: bis in eodem codice.
5. Quali tempore aperienda vena.
6. Praenuncia Lunae.
7. De Phlebotomatione.
8. De nativitate infantum judicia.
9. Lunares Sancti Danielis de Nativitate.
10. Lunares de aegris.
11. Lunares de Somnis.
12. Signa de tonitruis.
13. Signa de temporibus.
14. Onirocriton.
15. Quid orandum lavando manus et oculos.
16. Instituta quaedam pietatis quae Abbates et Episcopi sibi observanda praescripserunt. Saxonice.
17. Ordo antiquus cum leiturgia, variisque collectis et orationibus.

This is the Elenchus, but the printed catalogue makes only 16 articles and groups them thus:

1. Brevis instituta, docens quae orationes, et alia pietatis officia certis diebus sunt praestanda. (Saxonice).

2. Brevis adnotatio temporum, ab orbe condito ad nativitatem Domini: in fine "A nativitate," etc., as above.

3. De materia ligni crucis.

4. Dies Ægyptiaci qui observandi sunt per omnia, ne quis sanguinem audeat in iis minuere.

5. Quali tempore aperienda est vena.

6. De Phlebotomatione, i.e., minuendo sanguine.

7. De nativitate infantum, prognostica.

8. Lunares S. Danielis de nativitate.

9. Lunares de ægris.

10. Lunares de somniis.

11. Signa et prognostica de tonitrubus.

12. Signa de temporibus.

13. Alphabetum somniale; vel judicia de insomniis.

14. Quid dicendum inter lavandum manus et oculos; item medicamentum, Saxonice.

15. Conventio inter Episcopos quosdam et abbates, qui se ad mutua pietatis officia obligabant. Saxonice.

16. Officia pia et orationes in vigiliis unius aut plurium apostolorum, martyrum, etc. cum Litania et precibus ad angelos et sanctos, et praecipue ad S. Nicolaum: præfigitur icon S. Petri super solium sedentis, monacho ei librum offerente.

I.—The first article (folio 2) in this interesting series is a Saxon code of rules for the guidance of the faithful in the way of his devotion:

"Ælce sunnan dæg bebeod þe ðære þrynnesse naman. þ is fæder 7 sunu 7 se halga gast. 7 sing benedicite. 7 Gloria in excelsis deo . 7 Credo in deum . 7 Pater noster . Criste to lofe þonne gelimpð þe ealle þucan þe bet . Mihtest þu geþunian þ ðu hit sunge ælce dæge þonne ðu érest onþóce . 7 cþeþ ðonne god ælmihtig for þinre miclan mild-

heortnesse 7 for ðissa godespórda mægne miltsa me 7 sýle me minra gedónra sýnna forgýfnesse . 7 ðara topeardra gescildnessa . 7 þine bletsunga to eallum þingum . 7 huru minre saple reste on ðam écan life . 7 á ðine miltse . 7 geþenc ælce frige dæge þ ðu strecce þe on eorðan . godes þances 7 sing . Deus misereatur nostri . 7 do þis ðihlice þær ðu sýlf sý . 7 geþenc þ he ðropode on þone dæg micel for eall mancýn . Ne mæg ænig mann on his agen geþeode þa gespinc . 7 þara costnunga nearonessa þe him onbecumað gode spa fulfremedlice areccan . ne his mildheortnesse biddan spa he mæg mid þillicum sealmum 7 mid oþrum spilcum . Gýf þu ælce dæg þine tidsangas þel asingst ne þearft ðu néfre to helle . 7 eac on þisse porulde þu heafst þe gedefe líf . 7 gýf ðu on hpilcum earfeðum býst . 7 to gode clýpast he ðe miltsað 7 eác tiþað þonne þu hine bitsð . amen :—

"Every Sunday take care that thou call upon the name of the Trinity, that is, Father, and Son, and the Holy Ghost, and sing *Benedicte,* and *Gloria in excelsis Deo,* and *Credo in Deum,* and *Pater noster,* for Christ's sake, when all weeks shall turn out the better for thee. Thou oughtest to accustom thyself that thou sing it every day when thou first awakest, and then say, "O God Almighty! for Thy great compassion, and for the Gospel's great power, pardon me, and grant me forgiveness of my sins that I have committed, and prevention from those that are about to come, and Thy blessing on all things, or at least rest for my soul in eternal life, and ever Thy compassion;" and remember every Friday that thou stretch thee on the ground to give God thanks, and sing "Deus misereatur nostri," and do this frequently wherever thou mayst be, and remember thou that He suffered on this day much for all mankind. Nor can anyone so perfectly succeed in his own business, and so fully explain to God the perplexities of the temptations which come upon him, nor beg for his compassion, as he may with this-like psalms, and with such others as these. If thou every day thy tide-songs well singest, needest thou [go]

never to hell, but ever in this world thou hast for thee a quiet life, and if thou be fallen into any troublesome things and call on God, he shall pity thee; and he ever granteth when thou biddest him. Amen.

The religious exercises enjoined here are of the simplest kind, and are evidently framed with the object of private devotion, probably sketching out a kind of rule of life which the religious owner of the book has written down for his own guidance, as well as for an instruction to his flock, whom he was thus early instructing in the practice of private devotion which, as we know, reached its culminating point many centuries later under the immortal guidance of Thomas á Kempis.

II.—The article on folio 3 is a list of dates:

A principio usque ad diluvium anni mille sexcenti . lvi.
A diluvio usque ad abraham anni . ccxcv. et fiant simul anni duarum aetatum mille . dccccxlviii.
Ab abraham usque ad david anni dccccxlii . et fiunt simul anni trium aetatum duo milia . dcccxc.
A david usque ad circum [? cyrum] anni . ccclxxxiii. & fiunt simul anni . iiii or aetatum simul tria milia.
A ciro usque ad nativitatem domini anni . dlxxx. & fiunt simul anni . v. aetatum . iiii or. milia dcccclii.
A nativitate domini usque adventum antechristi anni . dccccxcx.

This is manifestly a table of the ages of the world. It is not necessary to say more than that it represents the scanty knowledge our ancestors before the Conquest had of ancient history. The attractions of chronology have, we here see, allured their votaries

from the very earliest days of the middle ages with as strong a power as they do many among us to-day; and it may be that with all our researches, with all the superior forces which education, observation, and protracted examination of ancient records gives us over the simple minds of the eleventh century (of which the writer of this manuscript volume is a very prominent example), we are as far off as he was from absolute correctness. How the compiler proposed to deal with the last paragraph, viz., that from the Nativity of the Lord to the coming of Antichrist DCCCCXCX years, a quaint and pedantic way of writing a *thousand* (as if one should say nine hundred and ninety ten), it is difficult to conceive, for the thousandth year from the date of the incarnation had already passed away some ten or twenty years when this sentence was committed to the leaf where it now stands. Doubtless, as the universal terror and alarm, which vibrated through the minds of the whole of the Christian world when the completion of the tenth century, the first millennium, gradually drew nigh, had quickly subsided, the value of earthly property, granted away as our charters testify for a mere song (literally) in the concluding years of the tenth century, began to improve, and the secular business of life, which had been long neglected, recommenced in earnest. It may be that the writer considered Antichrist's coming was an event before long at any rate to be brought about; and late as he was he must needs bring with him the concomitant events so gloomily brooded over in the themes of futurists, of which I fear the venerable Abbot of Newminster who wrote the manuscript was no unwilling

votary, if at least we may judge from the mystic and prophetic nature of some of his pages.

III.—The same folio contains the third article here called

De mensiū salvatoris,

probably an error for De mensura salvatoris.

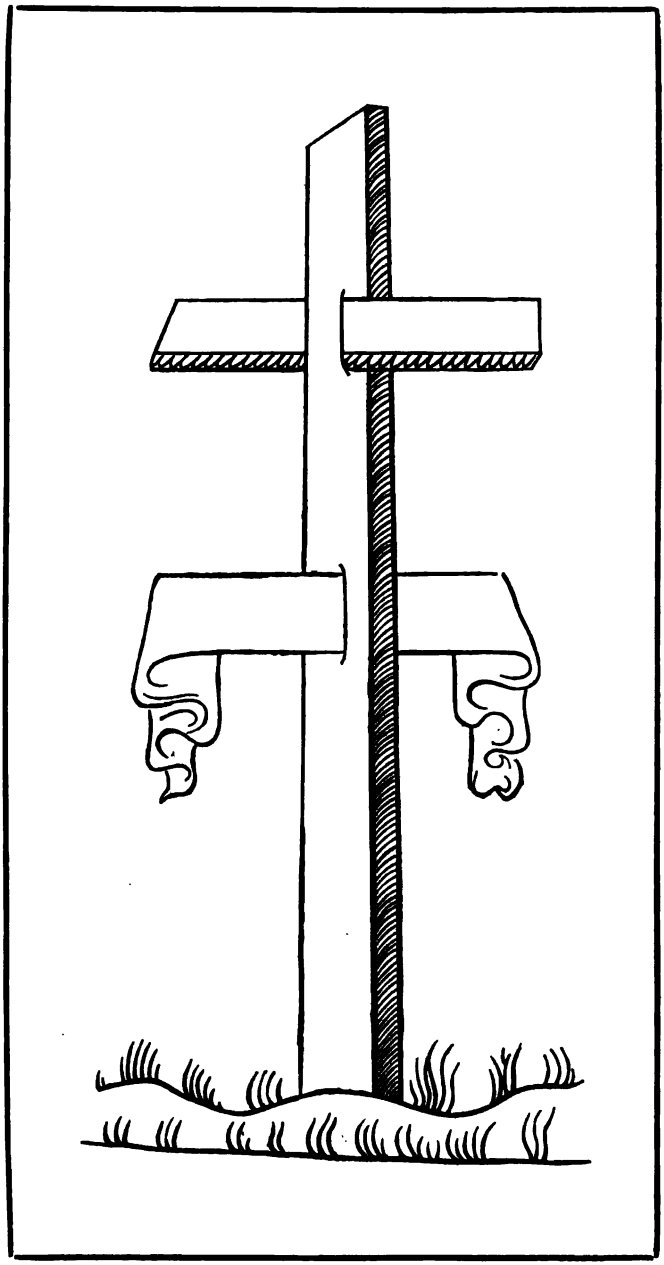
"Haec figura sedecies multiplicata perficit mensuram domini nostri ihesu Christi corporis & est assumpta a ligno pretioso dominice . Crux Christi de . iiii. or lignis facta est . qui vocantur cipressus . & cedrus & pinus & buxus . Sed buxus non fuit in cruce nisi tabula de illo ligno super frontem Christi fuerat in qua conscriptum judei illud titulum habuerunt—*Hic est rex judeorum.*

The signification of the phrase "*Haec figura sedecies multiplicata*" evidently points to a *drawing* of the cross, a description of which follows. This drawing is not, however, given in the manuscript, but I am enabled to illustrate this passage from the Harleian Roll 43, A. 13, a narrow roll of paper containing a *drawing* of a cross (here shown), with the following lines below it in English of the 15th century :—

The text of the roll is as follows :—

"This cros *xv tymys*[1] metyn ys ye lenght of oure lord Ihū criste . And y^{t}. day y^{t}. y^{n}. beryst it vpon y^{e}. or lokest y^{er} vpon y^{n} shalt haue yese gret giftis y^{t} folowyth. The furst is y^{n}. schalt die no soden deth. The seconde is y^{n} schalt not be hurte nor slayne w^{t}. no maner of wepyn. The iij^{d}. is y^{n} shalt haue reasonabull' godis & helth vnto y^{y} lyuys ende. The iiijth is yyne enmys shalle neuer ouyr com y^{e}.

[1] It is worthy of remark that the word *sedecies*, *sixteen times*, of the Saxon MS., is here to be compared with the *xv times* of this later roll.



HARLEY ROLL, 43, A. 18.

The vth is no maner of preson nor fals wytnes shall' neuyr greue y^{e}. The vith is y^{u} shalt not die w^{t}oute the sacramenttes of the chirche. The viith is y^{u} schalt be defendid from all maner of wykkid spryttes tribulacōns & dissesis & from all' infirmitees and sekenis of ye pestilence. The viijth is yf a woman be in travell' of childe lay yis vpon her wombe and ye childe schall haue cristindom & ye moder schall' have purificacōn ffor Seynt Cerice and Seynt Julitt his moder desirid yise graciouse gyftis of God which he grauntid vn to yem and yis is regestird on Rome.

" Salue decus parvulorum
Miles Regis Angelorum.

O cerice cum beata Julitta . christus + et maria + nos saluet in hora mortis nostre. Amen.

Preciosa est in conspectu Dei + mors sanctorum eius . " Deus qui gloriosis martiribus tuis Cerico & Julitte tribuisti dira nephandi judicis tormenta superare tribue michi Willelmo famulo tuo humilitatem in virtute gloriose longitudinis tue et venerabilis crucis tue preciosique corporis & sanguinis tui & omnipotentiarum & virtutum per intercessionem sanctorum tuorum concede michi triumphum omnium inimicorum meorum ut possum semper retinere constanciam per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Amen." [2]

IV.—The next entry is thus entitled:

Hic noctantur [notantur] dies egiptiaci qui observandi sunt per omnia ne quis sanguinem audiat in eis minuere.

[2] See Journal of the British Archæological Association, 1875, p. 105. "The exact length of the cross appears to be five inches; this would give the height of the Lord as six feet three inches. Hence the length of the drawing of the cross to which the text in the manuscript we are here considering, would be 4$\frac{11}{16}$ inches. The lines

Salve decus parvulorum
Miles regis angelorum

are without doubt from an ancient hymn of which nothing is now known; at least so I am informed by Dr. Sparrow Simpson, who has searched the works of Mone, Kehrein, and Daniel in vain."

Dies enim aegyptiaci in quibus nulliusmodi nec per ulla necessitate non licet hominem, nec pecus sanguinem minuere. Isti tres dies per omnia cavende sunt . Id est viii kl. Apr. illo die lunis . intrante Augusto illa dies lune similiter . exeunte decembrio illa dies lune cum multa diligentia observande sunt quia omnia vena plena sunt.

Qui istis tribus diebus hominem inciderit aut pecus statim aut die tertio moriturus erit . Aut vii^{mum} diem non pertingit.

Et si potionem acceperit ante xv. dies moritur . et si masculus aut femina his diebus nati fuerint mala morte morientur . et si de auca in ipsis diebus manducaverit ante xv dies moritur.[3]

[3] An interesting anecdote or two concerning geese may perhaps throw some light upon the unwholesomeness of *auca* or goose.

Bishop Wlstan II. of Worcester [A.D. 1062–1095], "Superflui potus expers esui carnium indulgebat . Quas tamen, statim ut potuit, occasionem rapiens sprevit . Causa fuerat, qua die dicta ad quoddam placitum exire deberet . Necessitas rei omni excusationi repudium indixerat . Visum est tamen ut ante missa cantata inediae consuleret . Acceleratur a clientibus, ne impransus abiret dominus, opponitur auca igni . Assistit altari presbyter, et devotione qua solet agit . Cum inter secreta missae, quia erat æcclesia domui vicina, nidor adustae carnis nares ejus obplevit . Odor mentem advocavit, ut voluptatis illecebra caperetur . Continuoque reducto animo culpam cognoscens, luctabatur valide, ut cogitationem alias averteret . Sed cum id frustra esset iratus sibi juramentum ad sacramenta quae tangebat fecit nullo se amplius pacto id genus cibi comesurum . Cantata ergo missa, cibo vacuus ad negotium discessit, quod jam tardior hora urgeret causatus . Occasio illa effecit, ut arduum penitus secutus exemplum omni in perpetuum carne et etiam unctiori cibo temperaret . Non tamen comedentes rigido suspendens supercilio, nullo se affirmabat eorum ciborum teneri desiderio . Si qua tamen esset caro delectabilis opinari se quod alaudæ majorem uescentibus darent voluptatem.—[Will. Malm. Gesta Pontificum, Ed. Hamilton, pp. 278, 279; lib. iv. § 137.] Another curious tale of geese, in this case connected with a miracle, will show how fond our rural forefathers were of the flesh of a wild goose. It is related of the Blessed Virgin Werburga, daughter of Wlfhere, King of the Mercians [A.D. 656–675.] "Cujus unum narro miraculum, quod ab incolis celebritate sui famam et memoriam meruit . Rus extra muros habebat, cujus segetes depascebantur aucæ silvestres . Villicus, cujus offitii intererat, omni cura abigere, sed parum promovere . Quare dum herili assisteret obsequio,

Tres dies sunt in anno cum totidem noctibus ut fertur, in quibus mulier nunquam nascitur . et vir qui natus fuerit in ipsis, nunquam corpus illius putredine solvetur usque ad diem judicii . id est novissimus de thebet . et duo primi de Sabath.[4]

V.—Qualia tempora aperienda sit vena.

Incipiente artucanis . vel arcturi adq: siria stella quod tempus . Incipit a . xv. kal . agusti usque Non . Septembris. et sunt dies numero. L. unde omnes qui hoc tempore sanguine detraxerunt insaniores . redduntur. Multos periculosa mors sequitur . De hoc autem ideo medici tacuerunt quia causam dierum istorum ignoraverunt sed nos cunctis xp̃ianis interdicimus . Quo[mo]do aperienda sit vena in tempore . iiii .

hujusce rei inter ceteras diei fabulas subintulit querimoniam. "Vade," inquit illa, "et include omnes in domo." Stupefactus agrestis novitate praecepti, ludere putabat dominam . Sed illa constantius et serio præcipiente, ad segetes reversus, ubi prædatrices improbas primum conspicatus est, *ut se ex præcepto heræ sequerentur*, clara edixit voce. Tum omnes, grege facto, collis demissis hostem secutae, tecto inclusæ sunt. Quarum unam præsumpsit ad cenam rusticus, nullum scilicet accusatorem veritus . Diluculo venit virgo, et de rapina rerum alienarum volucres increpitans fugam capessere imperavit . Nec defuit alitibus sensus, quæ se integras non esse scirent, quin circa dominae pedes circumeuntes, nec usquam prodeuntes, querela qua poterant, pietatem virginis excitarent . Illa, Deo sibi revelante, intelligens non ex nichilo esse tantam querimoniam avium, villicum sedulo percunctata furtum cognovit . Jubet ossa recolligi, et afferri . Nec mora, signo virgineae manus medicante, cutis et caro ossibus superducta, cutis cepit plumescere, donec ales animata, saltu primo alacri, mox volatu se libravit in aethera . Secutae sine cunctatione ceterae, constante jam munero, exhibito prius liberatrici venerationis offitio." [Will. Malm. Gesta Pontificum. Ed. Hamilton, pp. 308, 309; lib. iv. § 172.] There is another notice of the eating of the goose in Titus, D. xxvii. fo. 22 *b*, to which I shall call attention in my description of that MS.

[4] These two months, Thebet and Sabath, or *Thebet* and *Sabat*, are the fourth and fifth months, respectively containing 29 and 30 days, of the Jewish calendar. The Judaic year was luni-solar, and consisted of 12 or 13 months, commencing with *Tisri* on, or immediately after, the new moon following the autumnal equinox.

Luna bona . xiiii . xxiiii . In . v . luna . vel . x . vel . xv . vel . xx . vel . xxv . vel . xxx . Secundum antiquorum medicorum catarticum accipere . vel fleouotomum facere periculosum est.

VI.—The next article is a continuation of the notes upon the "dies Aegiptiaci" and added at folio 5. Incipiunt dies Aegiptiaci qui in anno observandi sunt per unumquemque mensem . ii . duo . non iteratur homo . non vinea plantatur[5] . non messis trituretur . non causa sequatur . non opus quod ad perfectum esse debet facere . quia maledicti sunt. iiii Nonis Januarij, etc. These Egyptian days, of which there are here said to be two in each month, are generally marked down in mediæval calendars, where we find, as well, the line opposite the first day of each month, containing a hexameter verse, occasionally rhyming, of which I find the following two specimens most frequently occurring. But there are variations in the separate parts, which, as they have been copied from corrupt transcripts, do not always scan correctly, and are in places almost unintelligible.

Jani[6] *prima* dies et *septima* fine timetur.
Ast Februi *quarta* est precedit *tertia* finem.
Martis *prima* necat cujus si cuspide *quarta* est.
Aprilis *decima* est *undeno* a fine minatur.
Tertius est Maio lupus, est et *septimus* anguis.
Junius in *decimo quindenum* a fine salutat.
Tredecimus Julii *decima* innuit ante kalendas.
Augusti nepa *prima* fugat de fine *secundam*.

[5] A proof of the existence of vineyards in England, which has been so often denied, so often explained away.

[6] This series of verses is fully explained in the second of the MSS. here selected for consideration, Titus, D. xxvii. f. 22.

Tertia Septembris vulpis ferit a pede *denam*.
decimo
Tertius (est) Octobris gladius *x* ordine nectit.
tertia
Quinta Novembris acus vix *iii* mansit in urna.
septem
Dat *duodena* cohors *vii* inde *decemque* Decembri.
[Brit. Mus. Arundel MS. 60.]

A later form is comprehended in the following lines :—

Prima dies mensis, et *septima* truncat ut ensis.
Quarta subit mortem, prosternit *tertia* fortem.
Primus mandentem, dirumpit *quarta* bibentem.
Denus et *undenus* est mortis vulnere plenus.
Tertius occidit, et *septimus* ore relidit.
Denus pallescit, *quindenus* foedera nescit.
Tredecimus mactat Julii, *decimus* labefactat.
Prima necat fortem, sternitque *secunda* cohortem.
Tertia Septembris, et *denus* fert mala membris.
Tertius et *denus* est sicut mors alienus.
[or *Tertia* cum *decima* clamat sis integra vena.]
Scorpius est *quintus*, et *tertius* ad mala cinctus.
Septimus exanguis virosus *denus* ut anguis.
[B. M. MS. Reg. 2. B. vi.; and Arundel 157.]

The ancient compiler of these lines has cleverly managed to indicate in each month two days, of pre-eminently unlucky date, on which no one would venture to undertake any business at all likely to be of ulterior importance to him. Of the indicated days the first numbers must be counted from the beginning of the month, but the second from the end of the month backwards, "*precedit tertia finem*." And against these days, more often than not, the MS. kalendar of a church service-book places a red-letter D., the initial of the word *Dies*; or *Dies Ægyptiaca* is written at length.

Here intervenes a valuable note of astronomical lore, the colour of the moon, etc., some of the sentences of which appear to be derived from a classical poem.

PUithagoras vero vir animi sagax scribit a terra ad lunam cxxvi milia stadiorum esse collegit a solem autem ab ea duplum . inde ad xii. signa triplicatum . Ex indiciis sicut fertur . Si Luna . iiij. rubeat quasi aurum vento ostendit . Si pura sit serenitatem . Si in summo corniculo maculis ingrescit [nigrescit] pluviam indicat.

At sol se [si] orto suo maculosus sub nube latet pluviālem diem præsagit.

Si rubeat sincerum . si palleat tempestuosum celum, si mane rubet tempestuosum significat diem.

Si vespere rubicundum aparuerit serenum crastinum portendit diem.

Artus qui et hiris dicitur quadricolor ex adverso sole nubibusque formatur.

Nam de celo igneum de aquis purpureum de aere iacintium de terra gramineum trahit colorem et non cernitur nisi impleniluno.

VII.—De flebotomatione, vel de minuendo sanguine.

Not a surgical but an almanac treatise, advising and warning with regard to the choice of days on which to undergo this universally used operation.

Luna prima .	Tota die bonum est
Luna . ii .	non est bonum
Luna . iii .	bona est
Luna . iiii .	in matutina bona est
Luna . v .	non est bonum, etc.

VIII.—De nativitate infantium.

A list of auguries of character from the days and

hours of births:—of great interest, no doubt, to the ancient soothsayer, and probably as trustworthy as those we occasionally hear in these later times from doting mothers and maudlin nurses.

Die dominico hora diuturna sine nocturna uti... li erit qui nascetur magnusque et splendidus.

Die . ii . feria hora diuturna sive no... qui nascetur fortis erit, omnibus rebus incipiendum bonum est.

Die . iii . feria hora diuturna sive nocturna qui nascetur fortis erunt et cupidi . et ferro peribunt et vix ad ultimam pervenient aetatem, omnibus rebus incipiendum bonum est.

Die . iiii . feria hora diuturna sive nocturna sive qui nascentur ad verba dicenda plurimum faciles erunt, etc.

Die . v . feria hora diuturna sive nocturna qui nascentur affabiles et honorifici erunt, omnibus incipiendum rebus optimum est.

Die . vi . feria hora etc., vitales erunt et luxuosi omnibus rebus.

Die . Sabbato hora etc., rare utiles erunt nisi cursus lune contulerit.

IX.—Incipit lunares Sancti Danielis de nativitate.

This is another treatise of the same kind as the last, with the exception that its contents claim the authority of extracts and deductions from the book of Daniel, a great astrologist among the ancient Jews.

Luna . i . qui natus fuerit vitalis erit.
Luna . ii . mediocris erit.
Luna . iii . infirmus erit.
Luna . iiii . tractator regum.
Luna . v . juvenis tolletur.
Luna . vi . vitalis.
Luna . vii . vitalis et utilis.

Luna . viii. juvenis dicidet.
Luna . ix . omnium adquisitor.
Luna . x . circuibit multas regiones, etc.

X.—Incipit lunares de aegris. (Fo. 8.)

Luna . i . qui inciderit difficile evadet.
Luna . ii . Cito consurget.
Luna . iii . evadet.
Luna . iv . laboret et surget.
Luna . v . Tricabit et surget.
Luna . vi . Non evadet.
Luna . vii . Medicina sanabitur.
Luna . viii . Diu languet.
Luna . ix. Languet.
Luna . x . Diu egrotat, etc.

XI.—Incipit lunaris de somnis. (Fo. 9.)

Luna . i . quicquid videri ad gaudium pertinet.
Luna . ii . et iii . affectus erit.
Luna . iiii . bonus et affectus erit.
Luna . v . et vi. secundum quod videris fiet.
Luna . vii . quidquid videris post multum tempus fiet.
Luna . viii . et ix. cito videbis.
Luna . x . quicquid videris nullum malum est, etc.

XII.—De tonitruis dierum vel trium. (Fo. 9*b*.)

Si notaverit hora vespertina significat nativitatem cujusdam magni.

[S]i prima noctis hora significat mortalitatem.

Si hora . iii. noctis significat iram domini, vel judicium ejus in mundo.

Si hora . v. mediæ noctis . significat aliquem sonus egredientem de seculo . vel vindictam in mundo. Si gallicantu . significat bellum et effusionem sanguinis. Si hora matutina . significat nativitatem regis, etc.

XIII.—Incipiunt signa de temporibus. (Fo. 10*b*.)

These treatises are of similar character and very useful, as affording an insight into what the educated Englishman of the eleventh century considered scientifically valuable, although of no true weight or importance. The following is a prognostic derived from the day of the week on which the first of January falls:—

Si die i. feria fuerint kł. iañ. hiemps bona et ventosa erit . aestas sicca . et vindemia bona erit . boves crescent et mel abundanter erit . senes morientur . et abundantia et pax erit.

Si ii . feria fuerint kał . iañ hiemps mixta ver jocundum aestas sicca et ventosa fiet et tempestas erit et vindemia non bona et valitudo hominum erit et apes morientur.

Si . iii . feria fuerunt kł Jañ . hiemps pluviosa erit et ventosa aestas sicca vindemia laborabit . mulieres morientur et reges peribunt.

Si . iiii . feria fuerint kł Jañ. hiemps dura et aspera erit. ver malum et ventosum erit aestas bona et vindemia bona . frumentum bonum et juvenes morientur.

Si . v. feria fuerint kł Jañ. hiemps dura et ventosa erit. aestas bona et vindemia bona, et abundantia erit et in illo anno principes sive reges peribunt.

Si . vi. feria fuerint kł Jañ. hiemps mutabilis erit. vér bonum . æstas sicca et bona . et oculorum dolor et vindemia bona et oves peribunt.

Si . vii. feria fuerint kł Jañ. hiemps turbolenta vér ventosum et fructus laboriosus erit oves peribunt et senes morientur.

XIV.—[Alphabetum somniale excerptum ex Danielis libro.][7] (Fo. 11*b*.)

Another augurial work attributed to the Prophet Daniel, which commences thus :—

> Aves in somnis videre et cum illis pugnare litem significat.
> Aves in somno capere lucrum significat.

and so on, and ends :—

> Uestiri qui se videt jocunditatem significat.

The Rev. O. Cockayne[8] prints a piece in Anglo-Saxon from MS. Cott. Tiberius A. iii. folio 25 *b*, thus entitled, "De Somniorum diversitate secundum ordinem abcdarii danielis prophetae," and calls it "A book of dreams by the Prophet Daniel." Of this Saxon text, he says, "the Saxon glosses some Latin," in point of fact, it is written over the Latin lines themselves. The Latin text in the MS. Titus D. xxvi. is apparently older than the Saxon gloss, and it is alphabetically arranged, whereas the Saxon necessarily fails to preserve that arrangement. The opening sentences of Mr. Cockayne's text correspond with those given above.

> Fugelas on spefenum se þe gesyhð 7 mid him pinnð
> Aves in somnis qui viderit, et cum ipsis pugnaverit saca sume hit getacnað.
> lites aliquas significat.
> In dreams to see fowls that quarrel betokens some dispute.
> Fugelas on spefnum gefon gestreon hit getacnað.

[7] This heading in a sixteenth or seventeenth century hand.
[8] Vol. iii. pp. 189–215.

Aves in somnis capere lucrum significat.
In dreams to catch fowls betokens profit.

The Latin text of the Tiberius MS. is of a later date, and much fuller than that of the MS. Titus, containing many more separate entries, and it would have been interesting to compare the whole of the three texts throughout, had not the space at disposal on this occasion forbidden my doing so. I give, however, a few lines of each:—

Titus. Aves in somnis videre et cum illus pugnare litem significat.
Aves in somno capere lucrum significat.
Aves ebullientes inimicorum locutionem significat.
Arma in somno portare fortitudinem significat.
Avem aliquem rapuisse dampnum significat.
Asinum videre laborem significat.
Arbores confractos videre laborem significat, etc.

Tiberius. Fugelas on spefenum se þe gesyhð 7 mid him þinnet saca sume hit getacnað.
Aves in somnis qui viderit et cum ipsis pugnaverit lites aliquas significat.

Fugelas on spefenum gefon gestreon hit getacnað.
Aves in somnis capere lucrum significat.

Fugelas sumþincg frā hi gegripan hearpan hit getacnað.
Aves aliquid a se rapuisse damnum significat.

Assan oððe hecenu gesihð gýlt ceapes hit getacnað.
Asinos vel edos viderit, crimen negotii significat.

Þæpnu on spæfnum beran bepenunge hit getacnað.
Arma in somnis portare tutamentum significat.

Assan etan gespinc hit getacnað.
Asinos edere laborem significat.

Assan clepuende oððe untiende ýrnan sume sace þýðer þýrdnýsse hit getacnað.
Asinos clamantes aut solutos currere aliquam litem adversarie significat.

Fugelas sceottende gesihð feonda ýfele sprece hit getacnað.
Aves bullientes viderit inimicorum malam locutionem significat.

Treop mid þæstme gesihð gestreon geþilnode hit getacnað.
Arbores cum fructu viderit lucrum exsperatum significat.

XV.—This article is a formula for the private use of the priest, when he is washing his hands and his eyes, previous to the celebration of any divine services. (Folio 16 *b.*)

Þis ðu scealt singan þonne ðu þýlt ðþean þine handa 7 þine eagan.
Lutum fecit ex puto dominus.
Ad te levavi oculos meos . usque in finem.
Kýrriel Christeł Kyrrieł.
Pater noster.
Credo in deum.

PRECES.

Benedicamus patrem.
Benedictus es domine in fír.
Benedicat et custodiat.
Dignare domine.
Miserere nostri domine.
Fiat misericordia domine.
Illumina oculos meos ne umquam obdormiam in morte.

nequando dicat. Oculi mei semper ad dominum.
Domine exaudi or[ationem].
Oculi nostri ad te domine semper intendant ut auxilium tuum et misericordiam sentiamus . per .
Consigno me signo sancte crucis Christi . in nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti. Amen.

From this curious, and, I believe, unique formula, the transition is somewhat abrupt to an entry by a somewhat later hand, of an Anglo-Saxon recipe against blains, *i.e.*, boils.

Þid þa blegene genim nigon ægra 7 seoð hig fæste 7 nim þa geolcan 7 do þ hpite apeg . 7[s]mera ða geolcan on ánre pannan 7 pring þ pós út þurh ænne clað . 7 nim ealla spa fela dropena pínes spa ðæra ægra beo 7 eall [spa] fela dropena únhalgodes éles 7 eall spa fela huniges dropena . 7 of finoles morė eall spa fela dropena genim þonne 7 gedó hit eall to somne 7 pring út þurh ænne clað 7 sÿle þam menn étan him bÿð sona sel."

The text has been printed by the Rev. O. Cockayne, in his 'Leechdoms,' vol. i. pp. 380–381, where the following translation is given :—

"Against blains, take nine eggs and boil them hard, and take the yolks and throw the white away, and grease (? smear, *i.e.* beat up) the yolks in a pan, and wring out the liquor through a cloth; and take as many drops of wine as there are of the eggs, and as many drops of unhallowed oil, and as many drops of honey; and from a root of fennel as many drops; then take and put it all together, and wring it out through a cloth and give to the man to eat, it will soon be well with him."

In illustration of this interesting piece of Anglo-Saxon Leechdom, I am fortunately able to add to it

the exact charm for driving away a wen, which has somehow escaped the keen eyes of Mr. Cockayne, and other editors of Anglo-Saxon sciences. This hitherto unknown piece of early English is written as prose, although it is manifestly in a loose rhythm of poetry, at the end of the Royal MS. 4. A. xiv. in the British Museum, in a hand of the eleventh century.

Wenne Wenne	Wen, wen,
Wenchichenne	little wen!
hér ne scealt þú timbrien,	here shalt thou not build,
ne nenne tûn habben;	nor any holding have.
ac þû scealt uorth	but thou shalt forth,
eouene tó þân níhgán berhge,	even to the nearest town,
þêr þû hauest ermig	where thou hast poor (?)
énne broþer.	any brother.
he þe sceal legge	he shall lay for thee
léaf ét héafde,	a leaf at thy head,
under fôt uolmes,[9]	? under the foot-sole,
under ueþer éarnes	? under the eagles feather,
under éarnes clêa	? under the eagles claw,
á þu gepeornie.	ever may'st thou wither,
clinge þû alspâ	[&] shrink, as it were
cól on heorþe	a coal on the hearth;
scring þû alspâ	[and] shrink, as it were
scésne apagé,	? excreta voided;
7 peorne alspâ	and wither, as it were
péter on anbre.	water in a vessel;
spâ litel þû gepurþe	so little may'st thou become
alspâ linsét corn,	as a grain of linseed,
7 miccli lesse	and much less than
alspá ánes	as it were a
handpurmes hupeban	handworm's hip-bone;

[9] ? uoluues: under foot of wolf?

7 alspá litel þû gepurþe	and so little mayst thou become,
pêt þû nâþîht gepurþe :	that thou become nothing at all.

This partakes more of the nature of a *charm* than a *medicine*, and many such will be found in the appendix to my new edition of Kemble's 'Saxons in England,' vol. i.

XVI.—The next article, a formula of confraternity (between Newminster and other religious houses), is one upon which I shall dilate, because it illustrates a phase of monastic life not well worked out as yet, although there is a large quantity of material ready to the hands of those who will find it no uninteresting subject for their pen. The text is as follows :—

Þis is þæra gerædnýssarium þe biscopas 7 abbodas geræd habbaþ heom sýlfum to þearfe . Ærest þ hí ealle anræde beon . 7 ánlufian for gode 7 for porulde . 7 þ hi beon spa heom to gebýraþ . Cor unum & anima una . 7 hi gerædan þ æt æfre ælcere mæssan þe heora ænig gemæssige gemune mid þrim colł . sýnderlice his gehadan 7 be gýte heora æghpýlc þ man ælcere púcan . for ealle geferan ane sunder mæssan synderlice gesinge . 7 þoñ hpilcum . forþsýþ gebýrige . 7 hit gekýþed sý . þonne hringe man ealle bellan . 7 xv . sealmas singe . 7 þonne singe ælc . ƀ . sýlf þreo mæssan for þa saple buton þam pite he þ he gefýlle þrittig mæssan 7 xxx . æfensanga . 7 xxx uhtsanga . 7 þærto . lx . mæssa oþþe spa fela saltera . 7 gefreoge ænne mann for þa saple . 7 ænne þearfan fede . xxx . dega of his agenre mýsan 7 do þærto ælc dæg ænne penig 7 æt þam þrittig daga gebaþige spa fela þearfena . spa he mage mæst . 7 þam do eallum æt . 7 pæt . 7 to pæde fýlste gýf he hpæt pille se þe þas gerædnesse mid gode geýce . god hit him geleanige spa him leofost sý . amen.

This is the agreement which the bishops and abbots have made for their own advantages. First, that they be all in unity and love towards God and the world, and as though they were 'of one heart and one mind,' and they have appointed that at every mass that any of them shall celebrate, he shall separately commemorate with three collects his fellow-brotherhood, and each one shall take care that some one sing every week a separate mass for all the associates, and when departure overtakes any member, and it is announced, then let them ring all the bells and sing xv psalms, and then let each bishop sing three masses for the departed soul. Besides this let him take heed to perform xxx masses, and xxx evensongs, and xxx nocturnes, and in addition lx masses or as many psalters, and set free[10] one man for that soul, and feed one poor man from his table for xxx days, giving him each day also one penny, and upon the xxxth day let him wash as many poor men as he possibly can, and give all of them food and drink, and help to clothe them if they require aught. May God recompense as it seemeth best to himself those who with his help carry out this convention. Amen.

Now from the very earliest times in the History of English and Foreign Religious Houses, we may gather abundant evidence of the existence of a mutual feeling of co-operation, and a practical fraternization which compelled most of the more important foundations to league themselves spiritually together, that by so doing they might enjoy the enhanced benefits of united prayers and advice possessed hitherto by each exclusively. This unity was entered into not only when the houses were in close proximity with one another, but we find long distances bridged over, as it were, by these

[10] For texts of this freeing, or manumission of serfs, see Kemble's *Saxons in England*, new ed. vol. i. appendix.

confraternities, whereby the members of one house entered into a binding agreement with those of the other to share its joys and fears, to lean mutually upon each other for moral and spiritual support, and to benefit by the ghostly exercises and worldly experiences of their fellow labourers in the field of Christ. This was not in any way connected with their revenues (which, as far as I have been able to gather, were always distinct and administered to the sole uses of the community which had acquired them). There was, too, no exchange of inmates, except perhaps very rarely, when, if any one found himself unable to conform to the peculiar rules of one establishment, he would naturally perhaps conceive the idea of removing, if it were possible, to one of the other houses which were united with his own in a spiritual bondage.

Hickes in his 'Dissertatio Epistolaris' gives the Anglo-Saxon text and Latin translation of a mutual compact of fraternization between Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester [A.D. 1062–1095], and the Benedictine houses of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchelcombe, Gloucester, and Worcester, from a Manuscript at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, *Miscell.* G. p. 55.

The same author also gives the Anglo-Saxon text and Latin translation of a deed in the Cottonian collection of MSS. Tiberius B. v. f. 75, setting forth the arrangement made between the members of a *thegena gild*, or fraternity of nobles, in Cambridge, founded for mutual aid and pious intercourse, and the fines to be inflicted for injuries done among them. This may be compared with the terms of Orcy's

Guild, at Abbotsbury, in Kemble's 'Saxons,' vol. 1, Appendix D., p. 511. Another Anglo-Saxon deed in the same MS. relates to a similar institution at Exeter, when priests and laymen were incorporated into one society for reciprocal assistance; the fines for absence at meetings, or violation of rules, as well as the duties expected from each individual member of the corporation being minutely detailed in each case.

The Cotton Manuscript, Domitian vii. ff. 33*b*, 44, records similar agreements between Durham Cathedral and Chertsey Abbey; between Durham and Gregory of Bermondsey, a professed writer of Manuscripts; between Durham and Wlfravenus, Canon of St. Paul's; between Durham and Pershore Abbey; between William, Bishop of Durham, and Vitalis, Abbot of Westminster, for themselves and their respective monks. Gloucester, Lastingham, Winchester, Coventry, Canterbury, Fécamp and Caen in Normandy, Glastonbury and Hackness entered into similar fraternity with Durham, attracted probably by the fame of St. Cuthbert.

William of Malmesbury, in his 'Gesta Pontificum,' Ed. Hamilton, p. 293, says that St. Oswald's Priory of Austin Canons at Gloucester was conjoined "affinitate arctissima" with his own monastery of Malmesbury.

I glean from the Chartulary of St. Swithin's, Winchester, in the British Museum, Add. MS. 29436, ff. 44*b*, 45, that celebrated foundation was linked in union of this kind with Canterbury, Burh, that is, Peterborough, Worcester, Gloucester, Reading, Tewkesbury, Chertsey, Burton, Ely, Abingdon, Glastonbury, St. Pancras [at Lewes], St. Alban's, St. Cuthbert's [Durham], St. Mary of Merton, co. Surrey,

St. Aldhelm's at Malmesbury, St. Edmund's [at Edmondsbury], St. Trinity Canterbury, St. Peter's Westminster, Wharewell, Romsey, Bec [in Normandy], and Battle [co. Sussex]. The nature of the agreement entered into here was as follows :—

Lecto brevi in capitulo pro defuncto fratre, statim absolvitur, signa pulsantur, et ipsa die si vacans est, vel ea certe quæ primum oportuna occurrerit, fit unum solemne officium vigiliarum et misse in conventu. Singuli sacerdotum unam missam, ceteri vero . L . psalmos dicunt, dehinc reincipientes et commune trigintale et privatum et pro eo et pro ceteris fratribus defunctis . tam suis quam nostris.

Another class of confraternisation is distinctly expressed in the manuscript in these terms :—

"Est apud nos [*i.e.*, St. Swithin's, Winchester], aliud genus conventionis quod habemus cum aliquibus congregationibus in quo tantum collegimus eos qui vel prescripto vel alio quovis modo societatis nobis junguntur." It goes on to narrate the conditions of membership under the head, in prayers and good deeds, and says "Haec conventio firmata est inter nos et has ecclesias" :—Evreux, St. Florence, St. Sergius, St. Martin at Séez, St Martin at Troarn, Cerisy, St. Nicholas in Anjou, St. Melanus at Redun, St. Faith de Conchis, St. Peter of Caen *de cultura*, St. Saviour of Tirun, S. Mary de Columbis, St. Victor of Marseilles. Other agreements are mentioned with Shrewsbury, London, and a number of other places and persons.

The Abbey of Evesham (in its Register, Cotton MS., Vespasian B. xxiv., folio 11) was in fraternity

with Malmesbury, with St. Mary's Abbey, York (folio 12*b*); and of Whitby, the Register says, "quod héé due congregationes quasi una erunt."

The Cotton MS. Vitellius E. xviii. belonged to a religious house which may be now identified with St. Swithin's, Winchester, by the sequence of places being preserved in it exactly as in the Winchester Chartulary already mentioned, which was leagued by conventions with Peterborough, Worcester, Gloucester, Reading, Tewkesbury, Chertsey, Burton, Ely, Abingdon, Glastonbury, Lewes. St. Albans, Durham, Merton, Malmesbury, Bury, Westminster, Wherwell, Romsey, Bec, and Battle.

For the text of the agreement between Cirencester and Brueria, see Madox's 'Formulare Anglicanum,' p. 301.

Further remarks on this interesting subject may be found in Silvestre's 'Account of the Mortuary Roll of S. Vitalis,' plate clxxxii.

My reasons for believing a similar compact of spiritual fellowship to have been in force between the Cathedral of Canterbury and the Religious House of Regulbium or Reculver, in the Isle of Thanet, in the early years of the eighth century, have been laid down at length in my work upon 'The History, Art, and Palæography of the Manuscript styled the Utrecht Psalter.' A notable instance of a very intimate relationship between two monasteries is afforded in the case of the Benedictine abbeys of Wearmouth and Jarrow, foundations of twin origin, and sometimes indeed governed by the same abbot; their proximity to each other upon the banks of the Wear and Tyne,

no doubt assisting this spiritual relationship. The Cotton MS. Vespasian A. vi. folio 63, an early record of Durham, speaking of these abbeys, says, "tanta pace et concordia et eadem familiaritate ei *fraterna societate* fuerant conjuncta ut . . . pro uno in duobus locis posito haberentur monasterio," they were so intimately connected that they came to be regarded as one monastery situated in two places.[11] No doubt a very large number of other notices might be collected to swell this imperfect list, but enough references have been adduced to shew how widely spread this practice of spiritual aggregation was, and we may take it that a very great deal of good resulted from this intimacy that was encouraged between different houses; between the rich abbey with its potent relics, and the modest retiring priory with its precious charms of peace, quiet, and retirement; between the centres of scientific progress and the strongholds of religious culture. This, no doubt prevented too strong a spirit of exclusiveness from springing up in any one house to the detriment of the religious inmates, whose intercourse with the surrounding integers of their own natural world was thereby safely secured.

The next folio (19*b*) has a very beautifully executed drawing filling up the entire page. It is a figure of St. Peter the Apostle, with tonsured crown and thick hair, bare-footed, seated on an oval egg-shaped seat, probably intended to represent the world, at the back of which is a studded band intended to indicate the clouds, or perhaps a rainbow, his feet resting on a rectangular and solid block. The saint is clothed in the usual flowing robe which characterises all pictures of

[11] See 'English Cyclopædia,' Arts and Sciences, Supplement, col. 1069.

this period, girt round the waist and thrown over the left shoulder, and tucked in at the waist; the right shoulder being left bare of the upper cloak, but a line round the neck shows that there is a lower tightly fitting dress clothing his body. In his right hand he lifts up his conventional emblems—a pair of keys with cruciform wards and a ring-shaped handle common to both; in his left is an open book. Around his head is a nimbus of circular form, embellished with seventeen studs or points. At the feet of this personage stands a suppliant monk, dressed in a cowl and hood, the latter of pointed shape and apparently united with the dress; in his left hand he holds a book, his right being uplifted in adoration of his Divine Preceptor. This picture of two figures is set between two cylindrical columns with ovoid capitals and drums, over which is sustained by them a trefoiled canopy, the side arches being embellished with embroidered curtains held by rings, and drawn back and twisted in a single knot around the shafts of the columns. This picture appears to have been drawn with a pencil or fine-hair brush in sepia colours, and the effect heightened by the addition of shading, slightly put in with green, blue, yellow, and red pigments.

Then follows a series of services for commemorations of Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Saints, and Festivals of the Church, with Litanies and Prayers. The litany, at pp. 51–56, is of a very interesting character, and very full of paragraphs.

At page 58 occurs the first indication of the locality whence sprung the manuscript we are considering. It is a prayer in the following words:—

"Defende, quæso, Domine, intercedentibus sanctis confessoribus tuis Judoco atque *Grimbaldo*, ab omni adversitate congregationem istam, et tibi corde prostratam ab hostium tuere propitius clementer insidiis . per dominum.

The blessed Confessor Grimbald, here mentioned, was a Fleming, at whose instigation King Ælfred built the New Minster at Winchester for secular canons, and here the pious Fleming was buried in A.D. 603, and reputed as a saint. William of Malmesbury gives a long account[12] of the substitution of monks for canons here by Bishop Athelwold, and a variety of most interesting details of the early history of the monastery, which I leave for the present. Grimbald is especially mentioned in a prayer in the next volume, Titus D. xxvii. p. 93.

At folio 61 *b* is a prayer: "ut me famulum tuam Ælfwine benignus respicias," etc., which connects unmistakably this manuscript with Abbot Ælfwine, of New Minster or Hyde, Winchester, and with the next or second Anglo-Saxon MS., to which I have to draw attention.

It is worthy of notice also that there are prayers for Abbots, and invocations to Saint Benedict, both which point to an Abbey of the Benedictine order, conditions satisfied by the Abbey which I have mentioned. Some of the masculine forms in these prayers in both MSS. have been overlined with feminine terminations at a later date, a fact which indicates that the book fell into the hands of an abbess after the date of its production by Abbot Ælfwine in the early years of the eleventh century. Some prayers to St. Nicholas,

[12] W. Malm., Ed. Hamilton, p. 173, § 78.

a simple charm, "Pro furto,"[13] and a transcript of the first few verses of the Gospel of St. John, conclude this most remarkable manuscript.

Titus D. xxvii.

This companion volume is made up of quires of stout vellum, usually of eight leaves. The Latin portions are written carefully on ruled lines without much contraction; the English is in a sloping hand, with only occasional ruling.

The "Elenchus Contentorum" declares its contents as follows:—

1. Tempora ad sanguinem minuendum.
2. Kalendarium antiquum historicum.
3. Judicia de diebus quibusdam cujusque mensis.
4. Lunare ad requirendum quomodo vel qualiter observentur tempora ad res agendas.
5. Hexameron Saxonice, ubi de die, nocte, mundo, annis, planetis, cometis, stellis cadentibus, etc.
6. Psalmi et orationes dicendo ante crucifixi pedem dextrum, sinistrum similiter ante manus, in medio pectoris, ad aures, et de adoratione crucis.
7. Oratio ad angelum tutelarem.
8. Variæ orationes ad Trinitatem, B. Virginem, aliosque sanctos cum salutationibus crucis, etc., in quarum initio habetur pictura non inelegans de Trinitate et B. Virgine cum conculcatione diaboli per Christum et condemnatione Arrii et Judæ.

[13] The text is:—"Si habes aliquam rem perditam, scribe has litteras in carta virgine, et pone subtus caput tuum in nocte dum dormis, et videbis eum qui tibi abstulit. [Then follow a series of arbitrary characters, some of which resemble the Greek letters of the period, as used by illiterate scribes.]

I. The first article (folio 2) is

Ad Sanguinem Minuendam.

Luna i. Tota die bona est.
Luna ii. Non est bona.
Luna iii. Ad hora iii. bona est.
Luna iiii. In matutina bona est.
Luna v. Non est bona.

and so forth, resembling the article "De flebotomatione vel de minuendo sanguine," in the MS. Titus D. xxvi., art. vii., already cited.

II. On folio 2 b. is a table of months with rules respecting the kalends, etc. Folio 3 commences the kalendar with the month of January. This kalendar, which contains some very curious entries, has been partially inserted by R. T. Hampson, in his "Medii Aevi Calendarium," London, 8vo, 1847, vol. i. pp. 435 *et seqq.* But as the printed copy is very imperfect and incorrect, I have no hesitation in giving here the historical and personal entries, omitting the saints' days and festivals, which were in observance at this period.

Jan. 1. Obitus fratris nostri ælfrici sac[erdotis] decani.
3. Obitus fratris nostri Boia.
5. Obitus Leofpini Sac[erdotis].
10. Obitus ælfrici vestia[rii]. Obitusque fratrum nostrum Byrhtpii et pulfsini d[ecani].
21. Obitus æderici sacerd[otis].
22. Obitus Byrhtrici diaconi.
30. Obitus fratris nostri ælfgari.
Feb. 4. Obitus ælfnodi decani et Byrhtpoldi . p̃.
6. Obitus ælfgari sacerdotis.
13. Obitus ædelgari archiepiscopi [A.D. 989].
19. Obitus ælfrici sacerdotis prepositi.

Mar. 1. Obitus Brihtnoði.
2. Obitus ælfþini diaconi.
7. Imma obiit regina.
12. Obitus Ælfgari sacerdotis iunga.
15. Obitus æþelnoði patris ælfþini mo[nachi] *abbatis*.[14]
17. Obitus Byrhtþoldi abbatis.
18. Passio sancti Eadþeardi regis et martyris.
22. Obitus æðelgari diaconi.
27. Obitus Byrhsini sacerdotis hþite.
28. Obitus Eadzini diaconi.
30. Hic obiit Leofgýfu . soror æ . abbatis.

Apr. 4. Obitus fratris nostri Hugonis.
5. Obitus þulfþerdi diaconi.
7. Obitus fratris nostri þulfþig sacerdotis.
11. Obitus þihtsini subd[iaconi].
13. Obitus Æþelbýrhti diaconi.
14. Obitus osþeardi sacerdotis et monachi.
18. Obitus Æðelmæri ducis.
23. Obitus æðelredi regis [A.D. 1016].

May 6. Obitus Heahflæde abbatissæ.
8. Obitus Ælfsini sacerdotis vestia[rii].
9. Hic obiit Gode so[ror] æ[lfþini].
20. Obitus æþerici mo[nachi] picto[ris].
23. Obitus ælfmæri sacerdotis . Memoria æðelþerdi et aliorum multorum.
24. Obitus osgari abbatis.
26. Hic obiit eadmund rex. [A.D. 1017].
28. Obitus þulfstani archiepiscopi et fratris nostri ælfgari præsidis.
30. Obitus fratris nostri eðelsini laici.

June 2. Obitus fratris nostri godrici colt.
8. Obitus Harþacnud rex.[14] [A.D. 1041].
10. Hic obitus æþelsini sacerdotis prepositi.
13. Obitus ælfrici monachi.[14]
15. Obitus fratrum nostrorum Leofredi et Leodulfi sacerd[otum].

[14] *Abbatis, rex*, etc., in a later hand.

June 16. Obitus fratrum nostrorum Byrhtrici et Regineri.
21. Obitus fratris nostri Mægineri sacerdotis.
22. Obitus Eadþini sacerdotis et monc.[15]
July 3. Obitus þulfrici monachi pictoris.
8. Obitus EADGARI REGIS. [A.D. 975.]
13. Obitus fratrum nostrorum æþelmæri sacerdotis et ælfþini sacerdotis.
14. Hic obiit Leofgiþ.
16. Obitus fratris nostri Godþini sacerdotis et monachi.
19. Obitus Byrhsini sacerdotis reada.
22. Obitus þulfstani cantoris sacerdotis.
26. Turoldus[15]. Hic obiit leg . . . . i.
27. Hic obiit Eadzini sacerdos.
30. Obitus Leofrici sacerdotis buza.
Aug. 1. Depositio sancti aþelþoldi Episcopi [A.D. 984].
2. Obitus Eadþini . sini . sacerdotis.
3. Obitus ælfþerdi culla sacerdotis.
8. Obitus ælfþig sacerdotis.
11. Obitus Bẏrhtnoði comitis. [A.D. 993].
13. Hic obiit ælfþig.[15]
17. Obitus ælfþerdi decani sacerdotis.
25. OBITUS ÆLFSINI ABBATIS.
26. Obitus Bẏrhtrici teon.
Sep. 3. Obitus ælfrici pueri.
11. Obitus fratrum nostrorum cẏneþerd sacerdotis et þẏnsini sacerdotis . Obitusque aðelþoldi diaconi.
15. Obitus Byrhferði sacerdotis þinsig . . . .
17. Obitus fratris nostri þul . . . i.
18. Obitus fratris nostri ælfmæri episcopi [? Sherborne, 1022].
19. Obitus ælfsini sacerdotis.
23. Obitus Leofsini monachi.
25. Obitus þulfstani sacerdotis.
28. Obitus Leofstani laici.
Oct. 1. Obitus þulfrici sacerdotis. Obitus Bẏrhtrici diaconi.
2. Hic OBIIT EADþIG REX. [A.D. 957].

[15] In a later hand.

Oct. 4. Obiit osuuardus frater noster.[16]
6. Hic obiit ꝑulfꝑius sacerdos. Obitusque Eadꝑeardi diaconi.
7. Obitus ælfstani laici sacerdotis.
10. Obitus sororis nostræ ælfgifu . Kenð.
16. Obitus Leofꝑini sacerdotis . villá.
18. Memoria ꝑulfnoði et æþelꝑini fratrum et aliorum multorum cum eis occisorum.
21. Obitus Eadꝑerdi parvi diaconi.
22. Obitus fratris nostri Godrici.[16]
26. Hic obiit ælfred rex. Obitus ælfnoði sacerdotis.
28. Hic obiit ælfꝑýn so[ror] æ[lfꝑini] mo [nachi] *et abbatis*.[16]
29. Obitus Leofꝑini . funig . monachi. § Obitus Byrhstani sacerdotis.

Nov. 2. Obitus æþelnoþi abbatis.
8. Obitus Býrnferði sacerdotis.
9. Obitus ꝑihtsini sacerdotis . et fratris nostri Bosa.
10. Obitus ꝑulfgari monachi.
12. Obitus Cnud rex.[16] [A.D. 1036.]
17. Obitus æþelnoði sacerdotis . Obitusque ælfþryð matris æþelredi regis.
22. Obitus byrhferði monachi et . . .
23. Obitus fratris nostri ꝑulfrici uoseþ sacerdotis.
24. Ælfꝑinus vitam liquit hic abba cad[ucam].[16]
25. Hic obiit ꝑulfꝑýnn mater ælfꝑini abbatis.
27. Obitus ꝑulfrici monachi sacerdotis. Obitus Býrhferði cat sacerdotis.
30. Obitus Byrhtrici blaca sacerdotis.

Dec. 4. Obitus Eadstani sacerdotis.
7. Obitus ælfrici mancyn diaconi.
9. Hic requievit abbas ælfnoðus honeste.[16]
11. Obitus Byrhtꝑini cýrcꝑerd sacerdotis.
18. Obitus Lýuuingi sacerdotis.
19. Obitus fratrum nostrorum alfꝑoldi monachi et ꝑulfnoði sacerdotis.

[16] In a later hand.

Dec. 27. Obitus ælfnoði fr[atris] æ[lfpini].
31. Obitus Byrhtpini sacerdotis.

The identification of Abbot Ælfnoðus, Abbot Ælfsinus, and of Ælfwinus, would alone enable us to assign this venerable volume, containing one of the earliest English calendars we possess, to the monastery in which it was prepared. Under the Ides of March the following notes occur, in a handwriting corresponding with that of most of the obits:—

"Obitus Æþelnoði : pa[tris] Ælfpini . mo[nachi] . *abb[atis]*."

Under the seventh of the Kalends of December:—
"Hic obiit pulfpýnn mat[er] Ælfpini . *abb[atis]*."

Upon the third of the Kalends of April:—
"Hic obiit leofgýfu soror Æ[lfpini]. . *abb[atis]*."

On the seventh of the Ides of May:—
"Hic obiit Gode . so[ror] . Æ[lfpini]."

On the fifth of the Kalends of November:—
"Hic obiit Ælfpýn . so[ror] . Æ[lfpini] . mo[nachi] . *et abb[atis]*."

And, lastly, on the sixth of the Kalends of January:—
"Obitus Ælfnoði . fr[atris] . Æ[lfpini]."

The words in italics have been added to the four preceding entries in a hand differing considerably from that in which the other portions are written.

These sentences show that the calendar, which bears the handwriting of three or more persons, was in course of compilation during the lifetime, or, to speak more accurately, before and during the abbacy of Ælfwinus, whose father, mother, brother, and two

sisters, if not actual inmates of the monastery, or benefactors to it, were at least honoured with periodical remembrance in the prayers of the monks; we may indeed go farther, and, without exceeding the bounds of probability, consider the book to have been the property of Ælfwinus himself, who has entered with his own hand at different periods the death of five members of his family, and indirectly indicated his own promotion from monk to abbot.

It is difficult to determine accurately the date of the composition of the calendar; the obit of King *Cnud*, *i.e.* Canute, occurs under the second of the Ides of November,—this event took place A.D. 1036; and the obit of King *Harthacnud*, *i.e.* Hardicanute is placed under the sixth of the Ides of June,—this event happened A.D. 1041. By taking this and other similar notices into consideration it will not be far from right to attribute it to the concluding years of the Saxon dynasty.

The next and last step that remains is to find an abbot of the name of Ælfwinus during the period above indicated, and here the utility of the list of Anglo-Saxon Abbots, printed by the Royal Society of Literature in 1872, becomes evident. It will be seen that the following names occur among the group,—Bath, Newminster, Ramsey, "Bucfæsten," Malmesbury, and Great Malvern, and if this were all the evidence we could bring to bear upon the question, it would yet be doubtful to which of these monasteries we are to give the preference. Ælfwine, however, occurs in a charter of undoubted genuineness (Kemble 949) ranging in date between A.D. 1049 and 1052, as abbot of Newminster. And so strong is the collateral proof

afforded by obituary entries of no less than four other heads of Religious Houses (out of a total of eight,—three of whom, Heahfleda, Wulfthrytha, and Berhtinus, are not identified; one, Osgarus, being probably abbot of Abingdon) whose names also appear on the Newminster list, viz., Byrhtwoldus, A.D. 995–1008 [Dugdale]; Æthelnothus and Ælfnothus, A.D. 1021 and 1057 [D]; and Ælfsinus, A.D. 997 [K], that I think there is very little doubt left, if any, that the volume under inspection originated at Newminster. We may presume that Heahfleda and Wulfthrytha were two abbesses of the neighbouring nunnery of St. Mary at Winchester, and as the book bears traces of having belonged to a female at a period after the death of the abbot Ælfwinus, one of these two may have been the possessor of it.

On the fifth of the Kalends of January we have the following:—

"Obitus . . . fr[atr]is n[ost]ri Ælfgari presidis,"

and this affords yet further proof of the connection of the book with Newminster, for Ælfgar was, according to Dugdale and the old chronicles, the first abbot of this monastery, being sent thither from Abingdon; a fact which satisfactorily explains the obituary mention of Abbot Osgarus already noticed.

The calendar is followed (on folio 9) by a series of almanac tables relating to the kalends, age of the moon, epacts, concurrents, and such like matters, about which I do not propose on this occasion to say anything.

On folio 13 b, we observe the following distich in a

simple cryptographic writing, where b=a, f=e, k=i, p=o, x=u, when required.

Frbtfr hxmkllimus ft mpnbchxs aflsknxs mf scrkpskt.
Skt kllk lpngb sblxs . Bm . . n.
ŧ us. ŧ us. ŧ us.
Aflfpknp mpnbchp aeqxf . dfcbnp cpmpptxm kstxm.
Ppsskdfp . ŧ mf ppsskdft Bmfn.

To be read,

Frater humillimus et monachus aelsinus me scripsit,
Sit illi longa salus. Amen.
vel us vel us vel us
Ælfwino monacho aeque decano compotum istum possideo vel me possidet . Amen.[17]

The key to this simple form of cryptographic or cypher writing, is given, I find, in another very beautiful Saxon MS., Vitellius E. xviii. f. 16 b, which I shall endeavour to describe to the Society on some future day. The entry to which I allude now reads thus:—

"Item de litteris notarium . i . v . vocales a . e . i . o . u . relinquuntur pro unaquaque abequetori (*sic*) littera ut unaquaque alphabeti littera vocalem consonante sequente in loco vocalis deducitur et sic scribitur notarium et ita probatur.
knnpmknf dk sxmmk. BMFN.
Pftfr npstfr, etc.

On folio 14 is a paragraph containing the names of the seven sleepers.

Folio 14 b and the following pages are arranged as a table of years from A.D. 978 to 1097, with a column

[17] This gives us the names of the writer Ælsinus, a monk, and of the possessor, Ælfwinus, monk, dean, [and abbot of Newminster].

for each of the following dates:—1. Concurrentes; 2. Anni Domini Nostri Ihũ Christi; 3. Aepactae; 4. Terminus Pasche; 5. A. B. C. D. [i.e. the Golden Numbers]; 6. Dies Pasche; 7. Dies Initii [i.e. Ash Wednesday]; 8. Quot sunt Ebdomadæ diesque a natale Dñi usque initium quadragesime; 9. Indictiones; 10. Cyclus per añ lx; 11. Dies lxx maſ per añ . lx; 12. Luna Diei Pasce. There are some useful historical notes written on the outer margins of these leaves against certain of the years:—

DCCCCLXXVII. Hic interfectus est eadꝑerd rex.
DCCCCLXXXIII. Hic obiit ælfhere dux.
DCCCCLXXXIIII. Obitus sancti Aþelꝑoldi episcopi.
DCCCCLXXXVIII. Obitus Dunstani archiepiscopi.
DCCCCXCI. Obitus æþelgari archiepiscopi.
MVII. Obitus ælfsini abbatis.
MXII. Obitus bỏrhtꝑoldi abbatis.
MXVI. In uno anno obitus æþelredi regis et Eadmundi filii eius.
MXX. Obitus Lỏfingi archiepiscopi.
MXXIII. Obitus ꝑulfstani archiepiscopi.
MXXIX. Hic obiit (?) ꝑulfꝑỏnn.[18]
MXXX. Hic obiit Bỏrhtune frater abbatis.
MXXXV. Hic obiit Cnud rex.
MXLII. Hic obiit Harðacnut rex.
MLVII. Obitus ælf[ꝑ]ini abbatis.[19]

The following entries are then to be noticed:

A table of winds, unfinished, evidently an intended copy of Beda's scheme in Migne's Beda, vol. i. p. 423 (Patrol. Cursus, vol. 90), f. 21 b.

Explanation of the hexameter verses relating to the

[18] See above, in the Calendar for November 25.
[19] In a later hand.

Dies Ægyptiacæ in the calendar. "*Jani prima dies, et septima fine timetur.* Periculosum est flebotomari in principio mensis Januarii, hoc est kł Januarii, et ante exitum die vii^a^, hoc est vii^a^. kł februarii," etc. At the end of these explanatory sentences occurs a curious notice relating to the eating of goose, to which I have already drawn the reader's attention. It is "Super omnes hos, sunt etiam isti observabiles. Ab initio mensis Augusti, dies primus lunæ insuper et de Martio ac Decembri novissimi dies eiusdem feriæ, in quibus et esus cuiuslibet anseris proibetur."

A paragraph entitled "Dominus noster Jesus Christus ter carnaliter huic mundo ortus est," in reference to his conception, nativity, and resurrection, f. 23.

III. Then follow other observations relating to the calendar, computation of Easter, etc.

A list of prognostics derived from the day of the week on which the first of January falls. It may be compared with the "Signa de temporibus" in Titus D. xxvi. f. 10 b., and begins thus:—Kł Januarii . Si fuerit in prima feria hiems bona erit, et ventus, ventosus, et aestas sicca, et vindemia bona, et oves multiplicabuntur, et mel habundabit, et habundantia pacis," fo. 25.

These sentences are followed by a curious paragraph relating to the length of the year:—

Þis is full ger tpelfmonþas fulle 7 endlufan dagas 7 six tída . þ is ðonne ðreo hund daga 7 fif 7 sixtig daga 7 feorðan dæl dæges . þ sýndon six tida þæs bið tþa 7 fifti þucena . 7 eahta þusend tida 7 seouan hund 7 sixti . hund eahtatig ðusenda hþila 7 six hund . ða man hateþ minuta . 7 seouan ðusenda 7 six hund . þonne biððæs eac þara beorhtan hþila

ðreo hund ðusenda . 7 fifti ðusenda . fif hund 7 tþentig . ðonne bið þæs fif 7 þrittig þusenda þrida 7 feoþortig . On anre æfen neahtlicre tide beoð feoþer punctas tén minuta fiftene partes feoþortig momenta be sumra manna tale.

This is followed by a prayer, entitled "ORATIO SACERDOTALI," commencing "Ante oculos tuos, domine, culpas quas fecimus et plagas quas excepimus conferimus . Minus est quod patimur, maius est quod meremur, f. 26.

IV. "Argumentum lunare ad requirendum quomodo vel qualiter observetur." A series of prognostics drawn from the age of the moon on certain days. It may be compared with the *Lunares* of the previous manuscript, and commences, "Luna i . hec dies ad omnia agenda utilis est . In lecto qui inciderit diu languescet, et longa infirmitate patietur . Et quidquid videris in gaudium convertetur; et si videris te vinci, tu tamen vinces omnes inimicos tuos . Infans si fuerit natus vitalis erit," f. 27.

V. The next article (folio 30) is a treatise in Anglo-Saxon concerning the first day of creation, and the influence of it in determining future dates in the calendar. It is entitled "De primo die Seculi . Sive de Equinoctio Vernali."

Þone forman dæg þissere þorulde þe magon afíndan þurh þæs lenctenes emnýhtes dæg, etc.[20]

Other articles ensue, viz.: De Nocte, f. 30 *b*. De Anno, f. 33. De Mundo, f. 37 *b*. De Equinoctiis, f. 38 *b*. De bissexto, f. 41 *b*. De Saltu Lunæ, f. 43. De diversis stellis, f. 45. De duodecim ventis, f. 46 *b*. De pluvia, f. 48 *b*. De grandine, f. 49 *b*. De

[20] Cockayne, iii. 238–281, where the following articles are all printed.

tonitru, f. 49 *b*. De temporibus anni, f. 50. These are all taken from Beda's work, "De temporibus" or "De temporum ratione;" they conclude with a pious peroration which is very beautifully conceived:—

"Seo sunne ge tacnaþ urne hælend crist . se þe is rihtþisnýsse sunne . spa spa se þitega cþæþ; Timentibus autem nomen domini orietur sol justitiæ . et sanitas in pennis ejus; þam mannum þe him on dræda þ godes naman . þam arist rihtþisnýsse sunne . 7 hælþe on hýre fiþerum; se móna þe þeaxeþ . 7 þanaþ; ge tacnaþ þas andþeardan ge laþunge þe þe onsýnd; seo is þeaxende þurh acennede cild . 7 þaniende þurh forþ farende; þa beorhtan steorran ge tacnaþ þa ge leaffullan on godes ge laþunge . þe on goddre drohtnunge scínaþ; Crist soþlice on liht hi ealle þurh his gife . spa se godspellere johannes cþæþ; erat lux vera quæ inluminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum . þæt soþe leoht cóm . þe on liht ælcne mann . cumende to þýsum middan gearde; Næfþ ure nán . nán leoht ænigre godnýsse . buton of cristes gife . se þe is soþre rihtþisnýsse sunne ge haten . þam sý þuldor 7 lof mid fæder . 7 halgan gaste . on ealra þorulda þoruld á buton ende. Amen." [21] fo. 54.

On folio 54 *b*, is an account in Latin of the number of days' redemption to be obtained by singing certain masses, and further notes upon the moon's age.

Folio 55 *b* contains a very interesting series of Saxon sentences, the object of which is not very clear; they may be descriptive of a set of illustrations which had been prepared for an alphabet of illuminated initial letters. These sentences have been printed without conjecture as to their meaning,

[21] This passage is differently placed in other MSS. collated by Cockayne, viz., Cott. Tiberius A. iii., Tiberius B. v., Caligula A. xv., and a MS. in the Public Library of Cambridge University.

by E. Sievers of Jena in a German periodical,[22] but I do not find any allusion to them in writers of our own country. The following is the text of this curious article:—

A. He gangeð 7 biþ his siðfæt gesund.
B. God þu fintst, gyf ðu hit onginst 7 þe bið wel.
C. Bliðnýsse getacnaþ, nis hit on þissum leohte.
D. Ne gepealdest þu þæs ðu þilt ne þu hit æfre fintst.
E. Becume blisse de ⁊ 7 þu bist sýmble gesund.
F. Tacnað deaþ fram deaþe. on þýssum geare bide god godes.
G. þu scealt geðeon be þisse geþohtunge.
H. ð ðe ne biþ geseald. þenc þu on oðer.
I. Ongin þ þu wille, þ þe bið geendod.
K. Beorh þe þ þu ne gange on frecnýsse.
L. Hera ðu god on ealle tíd þines lifes.
M. God þe gemiclað þ ðe forþ gespeþð þ þu don wilt.
N. Hylt þu ð to dónne. ne bið seald þínū dǽdū.
O. Ealle friðsumaþ god on eallū his mihtum.
P. Gyf þu riht nimst, nelt þu þifes þesan.
Q. For þam micel gód is 7 nergendlic spýðe 7 þu fintst blisse.
R. Forlæt al ða syn.
S. Þu bist hal gýf þu to gode gehþýrfst, se sit hal 7 mihtig.
T. Ne fýrhteð þa þe on sýnnum lýfiað 7 ýfel þencað.
U. Blis seo ðe biþ geseald 7 þeg on gepeald.

[22] With the following descriptive account:—*Bedeutung der Buchstaben:* Zu den Zs. (13, 368.) 17, 84. 18, 81. 297 gegebenen deutschen und lateinischen Deutungen der Buchstaben kann ich jetzt auch eine angelsächsische Fassung nachtragen, die durch ihr Alter besonderes Interesse gewinnt; sie findet sich in der wesentlich dem 11 jh. angehörenden Miscellanhs. Cott. Tit. D 27 des British Museum (s. deren genauere Beschreibung in den Erläuterungen zu taf. 60 der Publicationen der Palaeographical Society), ohne Ueberschrift oder Erläuterung, von der bei O. Cockayne, 'Leechdoms, wortcunning and starcraft of early England,' iii, 232 ff publicierten ags. Uebersetzung von Beda 'De temporum ratione,' nur durch ein Paar gleichgültige calendarische Eintragungen getrennt.

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SCA
MARIA
SCS IO
HANNES

X. Blisse 7 þeg 7 éce líf.
Y. Býcna[23] sibbe 7 gesýnta.
Z. Þuldor sý ðe 7 þurðmýnt, þereda drihť,
fæder on foldan, fægere gemæne
mid sýlfan sunu 7 soðū gaste. amen.

On folio 57 is a transcript of the "Passio Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi secundum Johannem." commencing at the words "In illo tempore Egressus Jhesus cum discipulis," etc. This is followed by a prayer to the Cross, inserted by a somewhat later but neat hand on folio 64*b*: "Ave alma crux que mundi pretium portasti. que vexilla regis eterni ferebas, in te enim Christus triumphavit. et ego miser et peccator servusque tuus. a. Ó sancta crux omnes in nos surgentes vincamus. Hoc signaculo sancte crucis prosternantur domine omnes inimici mei. tam visibiles quam invisibiles. tam presentes quam absentes. tam potentes. quam impotentes. Amen." The picture of the Saviour on the Cross, to which this prayer refers, is on the fourth side of a double leaf, which has been inserted after the body of the manuscript was written. The Crucified Saviour wears round his loins a cloth, the folds of which reach to the knees; the feet rest upon a projecting corbel of rectangular form. St. Mary and St. John stand beside the Cross with uplifted heads, rayed about with a beaded or dotted nimbus, while that of the Saviour is disk-like, with a cross pattée and studs or dots upon its outer circumference. Overhead is the Hand of the Almighty Father issuing from the clouds in the act of benediction, pointing to the tablet over the head of Jesus, which bears the usual inscription. The most inter-

[23] For Býcnað.

esting parts of the picture are the classical treatments of the sun and moon:—Two three-quarter length figures draped, and each holding a flaming torch or lamp of shape like a horn. The personification of the Sun has an antique crown of five radiated points upon his head, and holds in his right hand a full orb inscribed *Sol.* The figure of the Moon has the crescent of the horns and moon overhead, the word *Luna* being written between the cusps.

The upper ground of this remarkable picture has two verses inscribed upon it which sufficiently identify this volume with Ælfwine abbot, dean, literateur, philosopher, astronomer, magician, political economist, and artist of Newminster:—

Hec crux consignat Ælfþinum corpore mente.
In qua suspendens trax[it] d[eu]s omnia secum.

VI. The ensuing pages of this interesting manuscript are filled with a series of prayers known as the "offices of the Cross" commencing with the introductory rubrics "Si vis orare ad crucifixum Hos Psalmos canta."

VII. After the services mentioned there follows, on a similar leaf inserted after making up the volume (folio 74), in a handwriting, later date, a prayer to be addressed to a guardian angel, in these words: "Credo quod sis angelus sanctus a deo omnipotente ad custodiam mei deputatus, propterea peto et per illum que te ad hoc ordinavit humiliter imploro ut me miseram fragilam atque indignam semper et ubique in hoc vita custodias, protegas a malo atque defendas, et cum deus hinc animam meam migrare jusserit nullam in eam potestem demonibus habere permittas sed tu eam leniter a corpore suscipias, et in sinu

Habrae suaviter usque perducas jubente ac juvante creatore ac salvatore deo nostro que est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen."

The same inserted leaf on its fourth side contains a drawing by the same hand as the one already described. It has been reproduced in plate 60 of the Paleographical Society's publications. The subject is a representation of the Holy Trinity, in which the Virgin, bearing in her arms the Infant Jesus, and with the Holy Spirit as a Dove settling upon her head, stands on the left of the seated figures of the Father and the Son. Beneath the feet of the Son, Satan chained is being thrust into the open jaws of Hell. Arius and Judas in chains fill the lower corners. The outlines of this drawing are tinted with red and green.

VIII. Article VIII. commences on folio 77. It consists of the Offices of the Holy Trinity; Prayers to the Cross (folio 80*b*); and various prayers (folio 86).

In concluding these scattered notes on these two Anglo-saxon manuscripts in the British Museum, it is evident that they are of their kind the most typical that are now in existence of a class of man who represents the learned man of 850 years ago. That they are not printed is a very singular circumstance in these days of searching out what is new, what is unique, what is representative; that they should be printed by this Society, or by some Society, which aims at realising the dictum of Quintilian, that as far as regards our cognisance of human affairs, we ought to seem to have lived in bygone ages,[24] there is not a shadow of doubt, and I trust that the series of

[24] Instit. Orat., xii. 4.

ancient evidences which the Royal Society of Literature has given to the world lately in the "Inquisitio Cantabrigiensis et Eliensis," the "Chronicon Adæ de Usk," and the "Common Place Book of John Milton," will not be long without the companionship of these two more ancient volumes, which may not be inaptly styled the Religious and Scientific commonplace books of Ælfwine, the Abbot of Newminster.

REPORT

OF THE

Royal Society of Literature.

1878.

Royal Society of Literature.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

April 24th, 1878.

The Chair was taken at half past Four P.M. by Joseph Haynes, Esq., owing to the unavoidable absence of the President, H. R. H. The Prince Leopold, K.G.

The Minutes of the General Anniversary Meeting of 1877 having been read and signed, the following Annual Report of the Society's Proceedings, as prepared under the direction of the Council, was read.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

April 24th, 1878.

[Members.] The Council of the Royal Society of Literature have the honour to report to the Members of the Society that, since their last Meeting, held in the Society's House, on Wednesday, April 26th, 1876, there have been the following changes in, and addition to, the Members of the Society.

They have to announce with regret the death of their Members:—

H. Fox Talbot, M.A., F.R.S., V.P.R.S.L.
William Longman, Esq.
W. S. Lindsay, Esq.
Richard Woolfe, Esq. F.S.A.

And, of their *Honorary Member*,

Thomas Wright, Esq.

And, of their *Honorary Foreign Members*,

M. Thiers, Membre de l'Institut de France.
Il Conte Giancarlo Conestabile.

On the other hand, they have had much pleasure in announcing that the following gentlemen have been elected *Members*:—

MAJOR ALFRED HEALES, F.S.A.
TUDOR ROGERS, Esq.
FREDERICK C. SMITH, Esq. M.D.
J. G. JAQUET, Esq.
B. V. COOPER, Esq.
J. HORATIO BENNETT, Esq.
ROBERT CARRINGTON, Esq.
THOMAS W. HALFHEAD, Esq.
THE REV. JOHN JULIAN.
MATTHEW BARRETT C. BROWN, Esq.
JOHN BONAR, Esq.
J. L. OHLSON, Esq.
W. MACINTOSH, Esq.
T. W. GREENWELL, Esq.

And, as *Honorary Members*:—

JOHN WILLIAM REDHOUSE, Esq.
J. A. FROUDE, Esq.
E. A. BOND, Esq.,
Princ. Librarian, Brit. Museum.

[Funds.] They have also much pleasure in laying before the Society the following Report on the state of the Funds of the Society; from which it will be perceived that they are in a satisfactory state :—

	£	s.	d.
Balance from last account	131	16	1
Her Majesty the Queen, Donation	100	0	0
His Royal Highness the Prince Leopold, Donation	50	0	0
Rents:—			
Anthropological Institute (£ 183 15 0)			
Friends of the Clergy Corporation (£ 78 15 0)			
Numismatic Society (£ 20 0 0)			
Inventors' Institute (£ 13 13 0)			
London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. (£ 7 7 0)			
United Service College (£ 3 3 0)			
	306	13	0
Subscriptions	219	0	8
Dividends on £169 10. Consols, 3 per cents.	5	0	2
" on £534 12. new 3 per cents.	15	16	8
" on £175 India 4 per cents.	6	18	4
" by 3 Months' Interest on $9·000			
United States 5 per cent.	24	6	6
Messrs. Willoughby and Cox	6,902	6	7
Messrs. Willoughby and Cox from Mr. Beals	555	13	0
Messrs. Willoughby and Cox. Dr.	40	1	10
By advance	500	0	0
Mr. J. Cardwell, Donation	10	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Rates, Taxes, and Water Supply	97	9	6
House Rent:—			
Lady-day, 1877 (£ 100 0 0)			
Midsummer, 1877 (£ 88 6 8)			
Michaelmas, 1877 (£ 100 0 0)			
Christmas, 1877 (£ 100 0 0)			
Lady-day, 1878 (£ 100 0 0)			
	488	6	8
Salaries, Postage, and House Expenditure	306	17	2
Tradesmen's Bills	27	9	9
Coals	12	15	0
Gas	9	14	8
Insurance	1	0	0
Repairs to House	10	7	6
Stationer	9	14	4
Draft returned	2	2	0
Mr. Netherclift for Lithographing	11	10	0
Messrs. Tinkler and Hillhouse, Diplomas	22	5	0
By Advance	500	0	0
By Interest on £500	14	5	7
Messrs. Willoughby and Cox, to buy Stock	6,000	0	0
" " " "	500	0	0
Messrs. Willoughby and Cox's Solicitors Account	71	3	6
Messrs. Hunt and Steward, Architects	148	10	0

[Fundns.] The Council have further to report that Donations to the Library have been received from

The Royal Society.

The Royal Society of Edinburgh.

The Royal Irish Academy.

The Royal Asiatic Society.

The Royal Institution.

The Royal Geographical Society.

The Royal College of Physicians.

The Society of Antiquaries.

The Trustees of the British Museum.

The Anthropological Institute.

University College, London.

The London Institution.

The Victoria Institute.

Zoological Society of London.

Numismatic Society of London.

Society of Biblical Archæology.

The East Indian Association.

The Philosophical Society of Liverpool.

The Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

The Free Libraries Committee, Birmingham.

The Canadian Institute.

The Royal Society of New South Wales, Sydney. [Donations.]

The Government of New Zealand.

The Agent-General of New Zealand.

The Registrar-General of New Zealand.

The Smithsonian Institution, New York.

The Zoological Society of Philadelphia.

The Royal Academy of St. Petersburg.

The Royal Academy of Palermo.

The Royal Academy of Science, Turin.

The Royal Institute of Lombardy.

The Royal Academy of Lisbon.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

The Royal Academy of Brussels.

The Proprietors of the Quarterly Review.

The Proprietors of the Edinburgh Review.

The Proprietors of the Scientific Review.

The Proprietors of Nature.

Prof. Zeffi.

The Rev. C. B. Pearson, M.A.

G. Harris, Esq., F.S.A.

J. Fergusson, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S.

Karl Elze.

Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A.

W. A. Barrett, Esq.

[Donations.] G. Buckler, Esq.

Sir Edmund A. H. Lächrère, Bart., M.P.

B. Quaritch, Esq.

C. H. E. Carmichael, Esq., M.A.

Major Alfred Heales, F.S.A.

Major-Gen. Sir G. le Grand Jacob, K.C.S.I.

Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.

R. C. Carrington, Esq.

General Palma di Cesnola.

During the last Session, the following Papers have been read at the Evening Meetings of the Society :— [Papers.]

I. *On the Syllabic bases of Words for an Improved Form of Dictionary.* By the Rev. CASTLE CLEARY. Read May 23rd, 1877.

II. *On the Etymons of Musical Terms.* By W. A. BARRETT, Esq. Read June 27th, 1877.

III. *On the recent Discovery at Pompeii of Wax Tablets, bearing Roman Inscriptions.* By W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S., Sec. R.S.L. Read November 28th, 1877.

IV. *On a very rare Saxon Document, recently discovered in the Library of the Dean and Chapter at Worcester.* By WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., Librarian R.S.L. Read December 19th, 1877.

[Papers.] V. *Continental Views of the Pompeian Wax Tablets, recently discovered in the House of C. Cœcilius Jucundus.* By C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, Esq. Read January 23rd, 1878.

VI. *Historical Outlines of the Leading Religions of the World.* (First Portion.) By Sir P. DE COLQUHOUN, M.A., Q.C., LL.D., V.P.R.S.L. Read February 27th, 1878.

VII. *On the Literary Career of a Shakespeare Forger.* By C. M. INGLEBY, Esq., M.A., LL.D., V.P.R.S.L. Read March 27th, 1878.

VIII. *On the Historical Origin of the Buddhish Religious System.* By Sir P. DE COLQUHOUN, M.A., Q.C., LL.D., V.P.R.S.L. Read April 17th, 1878.

The Council have further to report that, it having been determined at a General Meeting,

on June 7th, 1877, duly called, and of which Charles Clark, Esq., Q.C., V.P.R.S.L., was the Chairman, to sell the Freehold Estate of the Society for the sum of £7500 to Mr. Tod Heatly, this agreement has been carried out, and the sum of money acquired by this sale has been invested in United States 5 per cents., Midland Railway Preference Stock, and Canada 4 per cents.

ADDRESS

OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE LEOPOLD, K.G., K.T.,

PRESIDENT,

TO THE SOCIETY.

Wednesday, April 24th, 1878.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

In obedience to the usual custom of this Society, I have now the pleasure of addressing to you a few words on this our Anniversary Meeting.

And, in doing so, I have great satisfaction in congratulating the Society on its continued prosperity, as evinced by the number of new names which have been added to it during the last year, to fill the place of the few whom we have lost by death; while, at the

same time, I have not to record the resignation of a single member. Our loss by death of our ordinary members is four, while on the other hand we have elected fourteen to replace them. We have also lost one Honorary English member and two Foreign Honorary members, and have elected three Honorary English members to fill their place.

On the Biography of one or more of these gentlemen, it is now my duty to say a few words: and, I take, first,

MR. W. LONGMAN,

who died recently after a short but severe illness, and was, as is well known, a leading member of the great firm of Publishers who have been so long established in Paternoster Row. He was born in 1813, and was for a short time educated at the school at Totteridge, near Barnet, then and for more than forty years, under the superintendence of the Rev. Able Lendon, whence he was removed at the early age of fifteen, to take part in the active business of his father's house. It is greatly to his credit that, with so slight an educational commencement, Mr. Longman should

have been able, amid the cares and the toils of an engrossing professional life, to have made himself as proficient in many branches, not only of literature but of science, as he really was, and to become not merely the publisher, but the composer of more than one work of permanent value. Thus, in early life, he gave much attention to the study of natural history and, especially, to Entomology, and formed a large collection of insects, at the same time studying Botany, Conchology, and Geology. Hence he became an adept in the use of the microscope, loving to trace by it the more recondite processes of nature, such as the circulation of the blood in the fine tissues of a bat's wing, or the more recently discovered presence of *Bacteria* in fermenting matter. Later in life, Mr. Longman gave to the world some exceedingly useful and interesting lectures he had delivered, in the winters between 1858 and 1865, to the poor people of the neighbourhood where he lived (Chorley), under the title of "Lectures on the History of England." In these, he carried down the history of this country to the end of the reign of Edward II. It is, probably, due to these lectures that he had increased his own interest in the annals of the Plantagenets, and was thus led to take up the History of Henry III. in

greater detail. In preparing himself for this task, he spared no labour in making himself thoroughly master of the subject, by a careful study of all the best sources available :—hence when published in two vols., Lond., 1869, this work was at once favourably received by the public, and is now deservedly regarded as a work of real authority. Not long after, Mr. Longman took a warm interest in the well-known series of manuals, published by his firm, entitled "Epochs of History," each volume of which gives, in a succinct form, some marked crisis in the annals of the world. The arrangements for this work were, indeed, mainly due to his energy and judgment. But the most important work, he himself accomplished, was his "History of the Three Cathedrals" dedicated to St. Paul in London, a study he was probably led to take up, owing to the new spirit infused into the plans for the restoration of this edifice, by the donation from Mr. Brown, the senior partner of the House of Longman, of £1000 for this purpose; the immediate result being, a window representing the Conversion of St. Paul. Many plans had been suggested for the complete embellishment of St. Paul's,—a favourite subject of the late Dean Milman —and a committee had been formed, of which

Mr. Longman was an enthusiastic member. Unfortunately, or, perhaps, we should rather say fortunately, the design which was, we understand, accepted by the bulk of the Committee has not been as yet carried into execution.

In the memorable dispute between the Bookselling trade and the Publishers, Mr. Longman played an important, though unsuccessful part, having been selected by his brother-publishers to plead their cause before a Court of Honour, consisting of Lord Campbell, Dean Milman, and Mr. Grote, on whose award all parties agreed to be bound. As is well known, the origin of the dispute was the claim of the Publishers to fix the *retail* price at which the books they printed were to be sold; whereas, many of the retail sellers contended that they had the right to sell the books at any price they pleased, provided the Publishers received in full their *trade* price. It is generally admitted that Mr. Longman made as good a defence of the Publishers as could have been set forth by a practised lawyer; but the case was a hopeless one from the beginning, as it could not be maintained that the Publishers had the right to fix the prices between the seller and purchaser, and, thus, to

keep up the price of books for the benefit of one class only, and that their own.

But Mr. Longman was not only a maker and seller of good books, he was also a keen sportsman, and a thorough lover of out-door and rural pursuits, an affection he retained undiminished till his last and fatal illness. To this taste, is probably due the zeal with which he explored and climbed mountains, in which prowess he has been surpassed by very few. Thus, he visited the Alps repeatedly, and investigated most of the passes; and, hence, was naturally one of the earliest members of the Alpine Club, which was founded just twenty years ago. From 1871 to 1874 he acted as its President, an honour to which, indeed, he had the highest claim, having thrown all his influence as a publisher into the valuable series of papers written by its different members, entitled 'Peaks and Passes,' and edited by Mr. John Ball, F.R.S. The excellent guide, too, by Mr. Ball, to the more distant and difficult pathways among these mountains was greatly aided by Mr. Longman's exertions. Add to this, that his knowledge of Geology and his experience among the mountains led him to take much interest in the exploration of Iceland, on which

subject he read (in 1861) a careful paper before the Alpine Club. His own travels, with the exception of a single visit to Madeira in 1875, were limited to the centre of Europe. It may be reasonably assumed that few men have passed away, almost suddenly in the prime of life (for he was but 65), at the same time leaving behind so large a circle of friends to deplore the loss of a most amiable, genial, and enthusiastic companion. A shrewd man of business,—with the tastes and the pursuits of youth,—with bodily and intellectual vigour alike undecayed,—it might reasonably have been hoped, that a life so valuable and so useful might have been prolonged for a longer period.

Mr. Henry Fox Talbot,

the eldest son of W. Davenport Talbot and Lady Elizabeth Theresa Fox Strangeways, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Ilchester, was born February 11th, 1800, and was, therefore, at his death on September 17th, 1877, in his 78th year.

At an early age, Mr. Talbot was sent to Harrow (whence Dr. Butler, the head master, wrote of him to

Lord Winchilsea, in 1812, as a boy of much promise), and soon showed an aptitude for physical science, and for chemical experiments, not common among school-boys, one of the latter of which, it is said, nearly blew up the Doctor's house, who naturally declined, after this event, to allow anything but the *theory* of chemistry to be taught at his school. Mr. Talbot, at the same time, exhibited an early taste for botany, the love of which he retained till his latest days. On leaving Harrow, he went for a time to a private tutor, and then proceeding to Cambridge, obtained a scholarship at Trinity, and later on, the Porson Prize for Greek Trochaics in 1820. On passing his examination, he appeared as twelfth Wrangler, securing also, at the same time, the second Chancellor's medal. On taking his degree in 1821, he did not, as is generally the case, compete for a Fellowship, but went abroad and spent a considerable time on the Continent.

As is well known, Mr. Talbot early directed his talents to those branches of scientific research to which his mathematical acquirements naturally prompted him; indeed, the list of scientific papers contributed by him to English and Foreign Journals, and recorded in the Royal Society's Catalogue, records no less than forty-

five, up at least to 1861, the latest volume yet fully completed.

The first paper in this list was contributed in 1822, to Gergonne's 'Mathematical Journal,' and is entitled "On the properties of a certain curve drawn from the Equilateral Hyperbola," and, in 1822-3, he gave also six other mathematical papers to the same periodical.

As is also well known, the world is indebted to Mr. Talbot's researches for many important improvements in Photography, as well as for special inventions or discoveries, some of which, as they were first suggested by him, so have they remained, but little altered since his first enouncement of them.

It is, therefore, interesting to notice that from the very commencement of his scientific career, he paid especial attention to the Phenomena of Light. Thus, there are papers by him in the 'Edinburgh Journal of Science' for 1826, describing "Some Experiments on Coloured Flames;" in the 'Quarterly Journal for Science' of 1827, "On Monochromatic Light;" with

other notices, more or less, of the same nature, in the 'Philosophical Magazine' in subsequent years.

In 1861, he published in the 'Chemical News,' his "Early Researches on the *Spectra* of Artificial Light from different Sources," and "Some Experiments in Coloured Flames;" and, in 1872, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, are "Notes on some anomalous *Spectra*," "On the early history of the *Spectrum* Analysis," and on "A new mode of Observing certain *Spectra*."

The last paper I have met with is "An Essay towards a general Solution of Numerical Equations of all degrees having Integer Roots," which was read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on May 17th, 1875, and has been published in the Transactions of that Society, vol. xxvii., 1876. In chemistry, as might have been expected, his researches were almost wholly connected with Photography. Thus, in the 'Philosophical Magazine' for 1833, are "Remarks" by him "On Chemical changes of Colour," with other and later papers on Nitre, Iodide of Silver, Iodide of Mercury, etc.

In January, 1839, Daguerre published an account of his method; and, on the 31st of the same month, Mr. Talbot gave to the Royal Society an account of his own process in a paper entitled "Some account of the Art of Photogenic Drawing, or the process by which Natural Objects may be made to delineate themselves without the aid of the Artist's pencil" (Roy. Soc. Proc. 1839. Phil. Mag. XIV., 1839). He read, also, a paper on the same subject, at the meeting of the British Association of the same year. Early, in 1840, a new process, due also to Mr. Talbot's ingenuity, the *Calotype*, or, as it was often called at the time, the *Talbotype*, created a sensation in scientific circles, as the results he had now secured, exhibited a marked advance on everything that, up to that time, had been produced by any one else. The main feature of this method is the production of a Photographic picture on sensitised silver Iodide held *in situ* in the pores of the paper, together with its subsequent development by means of gallic acid. It ought, also, to be remembered that this was by no means a chance discovery, but the result of long-continued and careful researches, resting on the judicious application of definite optical and chemical problems.

It would be out of place here, in a memoir addressed to a literary society, to dwell further upon Mr. Talbot's purely scientific attainments, the more so as his name is indissolubly linked with those of other great scholars, who were the early pioneers in the studies which have led to the present satisfactory decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. Towards such researches, Mr. Talbot brought nearly if not quite thirty years of previous Philological study; with a profound acquaintance, too, with those branches of Learning which would best prepare him as a successful explorer of a language, presumably of Semitic origin. So long ago as 1826, nearly a quarter of a century before Sir Henry Rawlinson had made public the reading of any *Assyrian* Inscription, we find the then keeper of the Museum at Turin, M. de St. Quintin, stating that, with the exception of Champollion he had met with no one "aussi instruit que M. Talbot dans cette nouvelle branche d'érudition." And he himself says in the 'Hermes'—a work he published in 1838—"that the scope of this work was not only the Antiquities of Greece and Italy, but also of Egypt." "It is my wish," he adds, "to devote some part of the present work to the elucidation of this new branch of Antiquarian Science." And, again, in another part

of the same book he speaks highly of Champollion's translations, being himself evidently well acquainted with them. Naturally, when Prof. Lepsius visited England in 1839, to study the Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum, he met with a hearty welcome from Mr. Talbot in his beautiful rural domain at Lacock Abbey. It is not, however, known that Mr. Talbot ever himself *published* anything on Hieroglyphical subjects.

But, besides his Hieroglyphical knowledge, Mr. Talbot was an excellent Hebrew scholar, having from his youth taken a great interest in Biblical inquiries; indeed, he published, in the work already alluded to, an article "On the Antiquity of the Book of Genesis," which is even now not unworthy the attention of scholars. The 'Hermes,' and his work on 'Etymologies,' though the latter are somewhat sketchily treated, and sometimes erroneous, show that he had given much attention to general Philology; moreover, that he had mastered all that was then to be known of the old Italic Dialects, the Oscan, Umbrian, and Etruscan, together with the Mœso-Gothic and other Teutonic languages.

Thus armed, it was but natural that Mr. Talbot should have turned his attention to the new literary work then being unfolded in the East; and, in the first paper he printed, he says in "Notes on Assyrian Inscriptions, Sept. 1854," "I print the following pages merely as a specimen which was rather hastily drawn up, to accompany some remarks which I propose to offer to the British Association at their next meeting" (that at Glasgow in 1855). From this period, to within a short time of his death, Mr. Talbot showed his attachment to the second main line of his studies (without, however, as already noticed, forgetting his earlier and, perhaps more abstruse, mathematical researches), as a list of more than fifty-five articles or papers, contributed to the Royal Asiatic Society, to the Royal Society of Literature, to the Journal of Sacred Literature, to the Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society, and to "Records of the Past," sufficiently attest. Of these, perhaps, the most useful work he engaged in, was one he undertook in the earlier days of Cuneiform discovery. It will be remembered that great, but unmerited doubt, was for some time thrown on the Translations of the Assyrian Inscriptions, made public by Sir H. C. Rawlinson and other labourers in that

field of research. At length it was proposed (some say by Mr. Talbot—and certainly the letter accompanying his translation would seem to justify this supposition) that a lithographed copy of the same inscription should be submitted to the then four principal Assyrian scholars, with the request that they would return a translation of it by a given day, in sealed packets, to be opened and compared by a committee consisting of the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Milman), the Master of Trinity (Dr. Whewell), Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Prof. H. H. Wilson, and Mr. Cureton. This plan was carried out, the result being that the detailed comparison, published in vol. xviii. of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, has since been held to be a complete vindication of the system adopted by the early decipherers of the Assyrian Inscriptions, exhibiting as this does a remarkable general agreement. It was clear that such translations made, without any intercommunication between the translators, could only arise from the existence of certain definite principles of translation, and in no sense, as has been often asserted, from the too imaginative genius of the individual translator.

MR. WILLIAM SCHAW LINDSAY,

of Shepperton Manor, Middlesex, is another Member whom we have lost by death since our last Anniversary.

Mr. Lindsay was born in December, 1816, at Ayr in Scotland, his father being Mr. Joseph Lindsay of the same place. His mother, also, having died soon after her husband, he was brought up by his maternal uncle, the Rev. Dr. Schaw, of the United Secession Church of Scotland, and placed in the Academy of that town, where he remained for some years. At the age of fifteen, he clandestinely left his adopted home for the Sea, and being, subsequently, duly apprenticed, made such good progress in the profession of his choice, that, at the early age of nineteen, he attained, in 1838, after the many hardships of a maritime life, to the command of the 'Olive Branch,' a vessel of 400 tons, then trading in the Indian Seas and Persian Gulf, between Bombay and Bushire. In these voyages, Mr. Lindsay followed nearly the same track as Nearchus had taken 2100 years before, when conducting the fleet of Alexander the Great from the mouth of the Indus to Susa, experiencing at the same time many

of the difficulties from shoal water and hostile robber tribes which the Greek Admiral had met with, and having often, like him, to anchor for the night. The memory of these trips in early life no doubt added to the zest with which, quite recently (Merchant Shipping, vol. 1. pp. 135–146) he has described the whole course of Alexander and the famous voyage of Classical times. In 1843, he quitted the sea and established himself as a shipbroker, first at Hartlepool, and somewhat later in London, where he founded the house of W. S. Lindsay and Co., of Austin Friars, one of the largest Home and Foreign firms and Insurance brokers in this country, and became ultimately, by unceasing industry and perseverance, a shipowner of considerable eminence. In April, 1852, he contested unsuccessfully the Borough of Monmouth, in the Liberal interest; and, in July of the same year, the Borough of Dartmouth, with the same result; but, in 1854, he was returned for Tynemouth, and, four years later, in 1858, defeated the 'Railway King,' Mr. Hudson, at Sunderland.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Lindsay confined his attention to shipping questions, in which he at once became an authority, and took a very active part. Thus,

in 1858, he was the successful mover of a Committee "to inquire into the operations of certain burdens specially affecting Merchant-shipping," which led ultimately to many valuable modifications in the existing law; and, again, in January 5th, 1860, he moved and carried a motion in the House of Commons for the appointment of a Committee "To inquire into the organization and management of those branches of the Admiralty, War Office, India Office, and Emigration Board," who undertake the business of transporting, by means of shipping, troops, materials of war, stores, etc., the result being that, after an inquiry which lasted the whole session, the Committee, almost unanimously, adopted his report. And, further, on January 31st of the same year, he renewed his motion "For an inquiry into the state of our Merchant shipping, and the operation of especially affecting that industry," and carried the appointment of a Committee, consisting of many of the ablest men of business in the House. Mr. Lindsay had good reason to look back with a proud satisfaction on the fact that, at the conclusion of the Committee, during which no less than 6813 questions had been asked and as many answers given, he was unanimously requested by his

colleagues to undertake the responsible duty of drawing up the report.

On March 29th, 1860, Mr. Lindsay moved and carried an Address to Her Majesty "Praying that she will be graciously pleased to enter into negotiations with the Emperor of the French . . . for procuring such alterations in the Navigation Laws of France as may tend to facilitate the commercial intercourse and strengthen the friendly relations between England and France;" it was necessary, however, to waive this matter for awhile till the Commercial Treaty between the two countries, then being discussed, had been finally concluded. The progress, however, of of this treaty led to Mr. Lindsay being sent to France, at Lord John Russell's suggestion, and to his having more than one interview (the first on January 10th, 1861) with the Emperor, of which he has given a very interesting account in "Merchant Shipping," vol. iii. pp. 440–2. See also vol. iii. Append. No. 5, p. 591).

There can be little doubt that the plain straightforward common sense of Mr. Lindsay had great effect in opening the eyes of the leading French Ministers to

the heavy loss inflicted on France by the absurd conditions of her Navigation Laws.

It should be added here that Mr. Lindsay served also on two other of the most important Committees appointed during the eleven years he sat in Parliament, viz., those for Manning the Navy, and for creating Harbours of Refuge.

During the Civil War in the United States, his house was the *rendezvous* of the most distinguished members of the unsuccessful party, Mr. Mason, Capt. Semmes, and others. Though not in the commencement of his career a free-trader, he adhered firmly, when convinced, to the principles of the Free Trade Party; hence the late Mr. Cobden was one of his most intimate friends and correspondents; while, owing to the known soundness of his judgment, he was afterwards, on his retirement, constantly consulted as an authority, on naval and maritime matters, by successive Governments, and irrespectively of party.

During the Parliamentary period, too, of his life Mr. Lindsay gave to the world several letters or pamphlets on maritime matters, as Letters to Lord John

Russell, in the 'Morning Herald,' in favour of "Reciprocity in Free-Trade," in 1848; "On Manning the Navy," "Belligerent Rights at Sea," and other kindred subjects; and also a very interesting volume full of information and wise remarks, "Our Merchant Shipping, its present State considered," 1860. This book was appropriately dedicated to the Right Hon. Milner Gibson, then President of the Board of Trade.

In 1865, he was suddenly attacked by paralysis of the lower limbs, and did not offer himself again for the representation of Sunderland at the General Election of 1866. Debarred by this affliction from an active life, he retired from business also, to his estate at Shepperton, Middlesex, where he occupied himself with literary pursuits, still, however, confining himself for the most part to subjects connected with his old profession of the sea.

The first work he wrote, on partially recovering from his illness, was "The Log of my Leisure Hours, by an Old Sailor," of which his own career forms the basis. In this novel, his object was to show the success that might attend perseverance and industry in a maritime career. Shortly afterwards he commenced his great

work, "The History of Merchant Shipping and of Ancient Commerce," which he was enabled to bring to a successful conclusion in four large 8vo volumes, in the commencement of 1876. This may be fairly considered a standard work; indeed, is the only really comprehensive book on the subject.

Early in 1877, it became evident that he was drawing near his end; nevertheless his natural energy prevented his realizing his own danger, and, almost until the day of his death, he continued to receive at his table, or as occasional visitors, his old Parliamentary and other friends.

Mr. Lindsay died on the 28th of August, 1877, having supported, almost without a murmur, the painful disease that caused his death. Mr. Lindsay married, in 1845, Helen the third daughter of Mr. William Stewart, Merchant, of Glasgow, and leaves one son, William Stewart Lindsay, who was born in 1849.

Mr. Richard Woof, F.S.A.

The late Mr. Richard Woof (or, as late in his lifetime he preferred to call himself, Mr. Richard Woolfe), was descended from an ancient family, who lived at

Madelay in Shropshire, where one of his ancestors had the satisfaction of affording refuge and hospitality to King Charles the Second, after the fatal battle of Worcester, in 1651.

Mr. Woolfe in early life took up the profession of the Law, and having been for some time in partnership with Mr. John Hill, then Town Clerk and Clerk to the Magistrates of the City of Worcester, was unanimously elected to the former office in 1864, on the decease of his partner, for whom, indeed, he had officiated for the previous seven years: this office he considered it his duty to resign in 1871, after a tenure of it for fourteen years, a resignation accepted by the City, though not without a very general expression of regret on the behalf, not only of those who had been long associated with him, but of the community at large.

Mr. Woolfe devoted much of his spare time to historical, archæological, and genealogical studies, being a warm supporter of the Society of Antiquaries, and of many other societies, to which he, from time to time, contributed papers of interest and value.

He was one of the original founders of Worcester Architectural Society and Archæological Club, to the latter of which he gave papers of much local interest: "On the Seal and Arms of the City of Worcester"; "On the personal expenses of Charles II. when at Worcester, in 1651"; and "On the portraits in the Guildhall." As Town-Clerk he had, naturally, ample scope for the pursuit of the local history and antiquities of Worcester, from the large collection of MSS. and printed records confided to his keeping. Hence, he was able to give great assistance to Mr. Noake while preparing his valuable work on "Worcestershire Relics."

Mr. Woolfe's great and principal work, performed during the period of his Town-Clerkship, was the collecting and arranging the Municipal Records, books, maps, documents and pictures in the possession of the Corporation, together with the completion of a Catalogue of the same, which was printed in 1874.

Mr. Woolfe was an energetic member of the Guild of Freemasons, and filled many of its highest offices; he took, also, a leading part in promoting the Masonic testimonial, by the erection of a handsome

stained-glass window in the Cathedral, to the memory of the late Joseph Bennett; and, also, in another painted window presented by the Grand Lodge at Worcester. In these works, Mr. Woolfe's knowledge of the arts of antiquarian design, and his intimate acquaintance with the genius of Freemasonry, enabled him to render most efficient service.

Mr. Woolfe joined the Order of St. John in 1867 and, up to the time of his last illness, took the most active interest in its charitable work, his antiquarian talents, naturally, inducing the members of it to select him, as by far the fittest person they could find, to fill the duties of Registrar.

Mr. Woolfe was born in December 15, 1821, and died December 16, 1877.

Mr. Joseph Bonomi.

Joseph Bonomi, an early and active member of this Society, was born October 9th, 1796, having for sponsors Angelica Kauffman and Maria Cosway. His father, an Italian by birth, had, in his earlier days, been architect to St Peter's at Rome, but had, at the

request of the English Architects, Messrs. James and Robert Adam, settled in England. He was employed here for several years, during which he constructed many important buildings, such as the Sardinian Chapel in London; Eastwell House, late the seat of the Earl of Winchilsea; and Roseneath, the Duke of Argyll's House on the Clyde. He was an intimate friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose quarrel with and ultimate secession from the Royal Academy, are said to have been mainly caused by the refusal of that body to elect as R.A., Mr. Bonomi, whose cause Reynolds had warmly espoused.

Joseph Bonomi, Junior, received his early education at Carshalton School, Surrey, and having originally intended to become a sculptor, went through a severe course of anatomy under Sir Charles Bell; and having, some time afterwards, studied in the Royal Academy, gained the silver medal for the best drawing from the antique, and also that for the best model of the same.

A little later, he became a student under Mr. Nollekens, as sculpture was the branch of art he at that

period of his life determined to pursue. In 1822 or 3 he went to Rome, where the accident of his meeting Mr. Robert Hay, R.N., changed the whole course of his future career. Mr. Hay, himself an excellent sketcher, was at that time attempting to persuade some other young artists to accompany him to Egypt, but Bonomi was the only one who accepted his views. The two friends left Italy for Egypt in 1824, and Mr. Bonomi remained there for the eight following years. During this period, he adopted the dress of the country and assimilated himself as much as possible to the manners of the people, keeping and riding his own donkey, and being thus able to pursue his studies without interruption. In this way he obtained a knowledge of modern Egyptian life, second only to that of Mr. Lane; and was able to be of much service to the many travellers then visiting that country, among whom may be mentioned Lord Prudhoe (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), Major Felix, Mr. James Burton, and others.

In 1833, Mr. Bonomi accomplished, in company with Messrs. Arundale and Catherwood, a remarkable journey to Jerusalem, and, for the first time, succeeded

in making accurate drawings of the Mosques of Omar and of El Aska in the Haram-es-Sherif of that city, places which, owing to the jealousy of the Muhammadans, it had been impossible on any previous occasion to study at leisure. There can be little doubt that the complete success of these artists was mainly due to the knowledge Bonomi had acquired of the language and manners of the people, without which, though there were then greater facilities than in former years, they would probably have hardly done as much as they really did. But by far the most important result of the labours of these gentlemen was the complete proof afforded by their drawings of the real age of these two mosques, which had, as is well known, been generally supposed to have been once Christian churches, converted, subsequently, like Sta. Sophia, into Mahommedan places of worship, but of an age considerably more recent than they were now demonstrated to be.

By the aid of these drawings, our Honorary Member, Mr. Fergusson, was able to show convincingly that both were buildings erected by Constantine, and thus, by the irrefragable evidence of architecture, to prove that the Mosque of Omar

is built on the church which Constantine erected, as Eusebius tells us, in the belief that it was on the actual site of the sepulchre of our Lord. By this valuable discovery, Mr. Fergusson has demonstrated, sufficiently at least, for all unprejudiced persons, the true site of the original Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and has scattered to the winds any claims the present so-called structure may be supposed to have. By these means, too, an impudent forgery of the Dark ages has been justly exposed,—Mount Zion restored to the true or Eastern Hill,—while existing monuments and localities at Jerusalem are, thus, shewn to be in remarkable harmony with the narratives of the Gospels.

On his return to England, Mr. Bonomi was much occupied in making drawings of Hieroglyphics for works connected with Egypt, for which his singularly fine pencil and long experience peculiarly fitted him; and, somewhat later, with Mr. Arundale, on the illustration of an excellent work on Egyptian monuments, entitled the "Gallery of Antiquities," of which Dr. Birch wrote the text. This volume was published in 1841.

In 1842, Mr. Bonomi was suddenly appointed

draughtsman to the famous Prussian Expedition to Egypt under Prof. Lepsius, which had been planned during a meeting, at the British Museum, of Friedrich W. IV. King of Prussia, Alexander v. Humboldt, Lepsius, and Baron Bunsen, in the spring of the same year; the result being the splendid collection of plates published at the expense of the Prussian Government, in twelve volumes of the largest folio. Mr. Bonomi had only engaged himself for six months, but he did not return to England till 1844.

Not long after this, Mr. Bonomi prepared, for Messrs. Warren and Fahey, the drawings for the "Panoramic picture of the Nile" which was exhibited at the Egyptian Hall in 1849, and subsequently the catalogue, which states that the pictures were from drawings made by him; and, in 1853, he was occupied with Mr. Owen Jones on the Egyptian Court of the Crystal Palace, one of those the best executed, and, in great measure, due, for the accuracy of the illustrative paintings, to his skilled pencil.

In 1861, Mr. Bonomi was elected Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum; the result being the carrying out of an important Egyptian work, viz., the reproduc-

tion of all the Hieroglyphs on the famous alabaster sarkophagus, purchased of Belzoni by its founder, and in many respects the most perfect, if not the most important monument of its class yet recovered. The chief subject of the Inscription is what has been called the Funeral Ritual; it belonged to a King whose name is read Oimenephthah. The work, describing it, ap peared in 1864.

Mr. Bonomi published as separate works:

"Nineveh and its Palaces," 3rd. ed., 1857.

"Descriptions" in "Egypt, Nubia, and Æthiopia," 100 plates by photography, 1862; and,

A small text-book on the "Proportions of the Human Figure," the preparing of which led him to invent a machine for measuring the human body, by which the height of the person and the length of the arms were simultaneously taken. He urged, on the authorities of the army and of prisons, its use for the purpose of identification and, on the former its special value for the detection of deserters, averring that, had such a machine existed when young Tichborne was in the Dragoons, the case of the Claimant would, probably, have been settled at once.

Mr. Bonomi contributed many papers to the journals of the various societies, to which, at different periods of his life, he belonged, such as the Royal Society of Literature, the Syro-Egyptian Society, now that of Biblical Archæology, the British Association, etc. He wrote, also, many articles for the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' the 'Literary Gazette,' the 'Athenæum,' the 'Illustrated London News,' and the 'Builder.' In the last-named periodical will be found some of his most recent notes with reference to Cleopatra's Needle and its proposed resting-place in London. It is worthy of note that, many years since, Mr. Bonomi suggested the propriety of having bronze castings made of one of the best Obelisks at Rome, that of St. John Lateran, and of putting these together and setting up the monument thus constructed, in London, to serve the purpose of a monument, and to give the public an idea of the general character of the Hieroglyphic writings.

Among Egyptologists, especially, by his accurate knowledge of matters Egyptian, but, also, by a wide circle of friends, Mr. Bonomi, who had nearly attained his 82nd year, will be greatly missed for the geniality of his manners and the freshness of his temperament.

He is understood to have left behind him a great mass of sketches, notes, and papers, many of which it is likely would be well worthy of publication.

Thomas Wright Esq.

Our *Honorary* member, Thomas Wright, was born at Ludlow, in Shropshire, in 1810, and educated at the grammar school of that town, and, subsequently, at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was descended from a Quaker family, who carried on the broad-cloth business at Bradford in Yorkshire, as may be learned from a pleasant biography of his father which he drew up in his later days. Almost immediately on leaving college he devoted himself to Literature, and, especially, to the Roman, Saxon, Norman, and early English periods, having already been, while yet an undergraduate, a regular contributor to many well-known periodicals, such as 'Frazer,' 'The Foreign Quarterly Review,' etc., his subjects being chiefly those of historical or antiquarian interests. He was one of the founders of the British Archæological Association, of the Camden, Percy, and Shakespeare Societies, in the two last of which he was materially aided by J. Orchard Halliwell Phillipps, who was, also, a joint labourer with him in many of his early anti-

quarian works. He, also, became the warm friend of the late Dr. Pettigrew, Mr. Crofton Croker, and of Mr. C. R. Smith, all men (thirty years ago) active members of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1842, he was elected (younger, I believe, than any one has ever before been elected) a corresponding member of the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres of France, and, as an English member, was naturally proud of the distinction thus conferred upon him. It was while Editor of the Archæological Album that the famous dispute arose in the Archæological Association, which caused the separation of that body into the Archæological Association and Archæological Institute—a dissension which, at the time, and for many years subsequently, caused much needless rancour and bitterness of feeling. It is likely, however, that the cause of Archæology has gained rather than lost by this quarrel, as, owing to it, a far larger number of persons have been induced to take an interest in Archæological and Architectural matters, the area of research having thus been greatly extended.

Mr. Wright was the author of a perfect library

of works on Political and Literary History, as well as on the Antiquities of his own country, while he was, at the same time, the Editor of an even greater number of mediæval writings in Anglo-Norman, French, and Latin. Among these may be enumerated, the best edition of "The Canterbury Tales" and of "The Vision of Pierce Plowman," "Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems," from original MSS. preserved at Oxford or Cambridge, or in the British Museum. He, also, contributed to the valuable series known as that of the Master of the Rolls, "A collection of Political Poems and Songs relating to English History from the accession of Edw. III. to the Reign of Hen. VIII.," two vols., 1859–61. "Alexandri Neckam, De Naturis Rerum Libri duo, with Neckam's Poem, De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ, 1863." "The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtofts, in French verse, from the earliest period to the death of Edward I., two vols. 1866–8;" and "Anglo-Latin Satirists of the Twelfth Century, two vols." Besides these laborious works, Mr. Wright found time to write a very useful work entitled, "The Celt, the Saxon, and the Dane," and "The History of the Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages,"

which was very admirably illustrated by that excellent artist, the late F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A.; a "History of Womanhood in Western Europe from the earliest time to the XVIIth Century," a very valuable and carefully executed work; and also "A History of Caricature and the Grotesque in Literature and Art;" and "The Caricature History of the Georges," or Annals of the House of Hanover, compiled from squibs current at the time. He, also, wrote several histories of Scotland, Ireland, and France.

To the personal energy of Mr. Wright were mainly due the very interesting excavations which were made, at his suggestion and to a great extent under his direction, at Wroxeter, the site of the ancient Roman town of Uriconium, near Shrewsbury. What has been accomplished he has himself described in the excellent work he published in 1872, entitled "Uriconium—a historical account of the ancient Roman City." It was a matter of deep regret to him, as it ought to be to every antiquary in this country, that researches, so well planned and so carefully carried out, have been allowed to drop altogether since 1867, when they were for a while revived, chiefly owing to the munificence of Mr. Joseph

Mayer; and this the more so, that the proprietor of the land, the Duke of Cleveland, while himself contributing to the cost of the undertaking, has, at all times, given willing permission for these excavations to be made, at the same time ordering that everything found there should be placed in the County Museum at Shrewsbury.

Of this Society, Mr. Wright was an early member; and contributed a curious paper in vol. 2, second series, 1844, on "Inedited notices relating to some early Writers on the Compotus." He, also, wrote for this Society two important volumes, the one entitled "Biographia Britannica Libraria — Anglo-Saxon Period—London, 1842," with its successor, of "The Anglo-Norman Period."

M. Thiers.

Another of our Honorary Members was the most eminent, probably, of modern Frenchmen, M. Thiers, who was born, in 1797, of very humble parents, his father having been simply an artizan-locksmith at Marseilles.

In his earliest life, M. Thiers went to the public

school of his native town, and, then, subsequently, turned his mind to military studies. To these, however, he did not long pay attention, but went to Aix and studied law. A little later, such legal knowledge as he had acquired enabled him to act as an advocate; but, as he did not make the progress he hoped in this profession, he, after a short time, abandoned Law and went to Paris. At the capital he soon found employment on the staff of the 'Constitutionnel,' and from this period to his death, may be fairly considered as the most successful of modern journalists. It was, indeed, a period when journalism ruled the State, though, for a long time, there was no great opening for this young but brilliant writer. But journalism was not all to which M. Thiers paid his attention. So early as 1823 he issued from the Press, the first volume of his History of the French Revolution, which was finally brought to its conclusion by the tenth volume in 1832.

At the time of the Revolution of 1830, Thiers had changed his services from the 'Constitutionnel' to the 'National,' and there can be little doubt that his vehement writing in the latter periodical, and his fierce denunciation of the re-actionary spirit of the

Bourbons, produced a great effect among the excited spirits of that period. And yet, Thiers was not even then in any sense a Republican; indeed, it may be doubted whether, when four or five years before his death, he exhorted the Assembly to proclaim this form of government, he had himself any personal regard for it.

It was still some time after the Revolution of 1830, to which his writings had unquestionably largely contributed, before his name became at all prominently public, as other claimants for place and power had first to be satisfied. At length, in 1836, he was made President of the Council and Minister of Foreign affairs—a position nearly equivalent to that of Prime Minister in England; and henceforward, that is, for the next eleven or twelve years, M. Thiers and M. Guizot, like Sir R. Peel and Lord John Russell, Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone, occupied alternately the highest ministerial offices, as the parties they represented, successively got the upper hand.

It was unfortunate for France that then, as subsequently, her ministers, to whatever party they might chance to belong, held that if France was to be contented at home, her self-love must be gratified by

the evidence of some paramount influence abroad; in those days, therefore, it was necessary that she should seem to rule, indirectly if not directly, over Egypt and Syria. Hence the alliance with Mehemet Ali, and the consequent invasion of Syria by his son Ibrahim, which, had it not been arrested, would have wrested from the Sultan an important portion of his dominions. Lord Palmerston, however, was then alive—a treaty was made by him with Austria and Turkey—and, before Thiers was ready to act, Acre had been bombarded, and the tide of Egyptian invasion had been rolled back to the Nile.

Naturally, the indignation of M. Thiers was excessive when he found how he had been checkmated, and he was quite ready to have declared war with England, for the "defence of Egypt." Fortunately, however, the king on the throne, Louis Philippe, was a man of long and varied experience, with a calm and cool judgment; with the knowledge, also, that the maintenance of his throne—his right to which was, itself, not so easy of defence—depended on retaining the friendship of England. So Thiers fell, and was replaced by Guizot.

M. Thiers now again turned from politics to the consolations of literature, and resolved to follow up his "History of the Revolution," by that of the "Consulate and Empire." In this work, which he entered on as an ardent admirer of Napoleon, he throughout represents him as a hero, glorifying him at a sacrifice of the interests of every person who came in contact with him, at the same time being not always as careful as he ought to have been of the exact truth. There can be little doubt that the popularity of this work, and the extent to which it was read throughout the length and breadth of France, did much to pave the way for Napoleon III. A delusive halo had been cast over the iniquities of the First Empire, and people were led to contrast favourably the vigour of its rule with the too patent imbecility of the restored Bourbons.

When the Revolution of 1848 took place, M. Thiers served in the ranks of the National Guard, and, after some time, procured a seat in the Assembly: he did not, however, obtain ministerial promotion, as he probably expected, from Napoleon III., for whose Presidency he had voted; as the President had need, at that time, of councillors more daring in their views,

less scrupulous in their mode of action, and less respectable in their character. It is, however, a significant fact, that when eight years before, Napoleon made his foolish landing at Boulogne, he had named Thiers, then recently dismissed by Louis Philippe, as his Minister, and probably for this very reason.

After the *coup d'état* of 1851, Thiers, as was quite natural, was banished to Switzerland, but not long after was allowed to return to Paris, though, with his usual wisdom, he did not again take any leading part in politics till 1863, when he was elected for the Department of the Seine. From this time to the outbreak of the fatal war of 1870, Thiers was, on almost every occasion, in opposition to the Imperial Government. As a Protectionist of the old Bonapartist school, he resisted the Treaty of Commerce with England; opposed the Austrian War as tending to consolidate and strengthen Italy—while he was, also, from first to last a warm advocate, not only of the Pope, but of his temporal power. Towards the close of the Imperial rule, he saw clearly that the Emperor was badly advised; while, at the same time, he did not consider the supposed insult by the King of Prussia to

M. Benedetti in the Kursaal Garden at Ems, of such a nature as to justify the Imperial appeal to arms. Again, when the disaster of Sedan had practically left France without a master, he declined to take any part in the Government of the 4th of September, preferring rather to retire from the political arena to his cherished literary pursuits at home. He was not, however, long permitted this rest, and, at the earnest entreaty of M. Jules Favre, he made his famous journeys to the Courts of England, Russia, Vienna, and Florence to implore aid for his country against the German invaders. As is well known, these efforts altogether failed; though he was received everywhere with kindness and sympathy, and with all the honour so good a cause justly deserved. No one could fail to respect the zeal and the courage of the gallant old statesman who, at the age of seventy-three years, was ready to accomplish such journeys, during a winter, too, of unusual severity.

Greatly disappointed at his failure, though he could hardly have anticipated anything else, M. Thiers did not give way; yet when others counselled further resistance, he courageously told them it was too late, assuring them that they would be compelled to accept

whatever terms the conqueror might choose to impose. The Assembly was therefore elected in February, 1871, to ratify the Treaty with Germany, and, on the 17th of the same month, M. Thiers was unanimously chosen Chief of the Executive Power. On the 26th, preliminaries of peace were signed at Versailles, and, on the 1st of March, after an almost unanimous vote for the downfall of the empire, the Assembly by a majority of 546 to 107 votes ratified the Treaty at Bourdeaux.

The Assembly thus elected was strongly Monarchical, and looked on Republican and Imperialist with almost equal distrust, yet they naturally turned to M. Thiers as the wisest head among them, and as far more skilled than any one else in the management of deliberative bodies; perhaps, too, not without the hope that he would temporize with the Republicans, till the time should come when he could re-construct the throne. But it was a policy of fatal weakness. It is more than probable that had Thiers, at the time, definitely asserted his intention of supporting with all his power, either Monarchy or Republicanism, the Communal outbreak of March 18th would not have occurred; and what is even more certain, is, that, had he at once struck the blow he threatened, he could have stamped out the outbreak of the rabble at Montmartre. It

would be out of place here to discuss the course of the next few months of M. Thiers' rule till, in the end, by the suppression of this sanguinary revolt, by means scarcely less sanguinary, he found himself supreme Master of France, nor need we discuss the question as to the character of the courses he took for its suppression, or the merciless nature of the punishment inflicted on the rebels. Suffice it, that for the two years following the successful entry of his troops into Paris, M. Thiers was able to exercise what cannot be called by any other name than an unrestricted despotism. Self-opinionated without limit, he told France that it could not exist without him, and, with the spectre of the Commune, ever ready to reappear when needed, France believed in him and accepted him. Nor, indeed, can it be denied that his rule was productive of great good to his country. By him peace was finally ratified with Germany; by him, too, the people were induced to unlock their coffers and to pay the enormous demands of the conquerors, while, in raising the taxes necessary, over and beyond the vast contributions of individuals, Thiers found an opportunity of re-asserting his Protectionist views. In the Chamber he was ever ready to talk of his declining years and of his disinterestedness, and, if any one hesitated to follow him at once,

to threaten the House with his resignation, and with what he assumed to be its necessary result—universal chaos. No doubt most Frenchmen then thought that such a resignation was only another name for anarchy and blood; nor were they prepared with the successor to a man who could, as he had done, secure the apparent allegiance of all the friends of order in France. To his credit, it ought never to be forgotten, that he had been scarcely a year in power, when the first instalment of the enormous indemnity claimed by her was paid over to Germany before it was due, thus anticipating freedom from the German yoke of six French Provinces, which had been held in pledge for the amount. The following year a still larger sum was raised by a loan, which was subscribed to with even greater eagerness than the first.

In the next year, 1873, a considerable addition had been made to the elections of Members of the Republican Party, and, as M. Thiers still adhered to his vacillating policy, a direct appeal was made to him, whether he would propose Monarchy or a Republic. He adopted the latter course—a Monarchical coalition was formed—and he was hurled from power, leaving to Marshal MacMahon to complete what he had, dur-

ing the later period of his rule, aspired to, viz., the organizing of the Republic,—the definition of the public powers of the President,—and the passing of a law, calling into existence a Second Chamber. Since his overthrow he took little direct part in Politics, indeed, but rarely spoke in the Assembly; but his counsels have been frequently sought by eminent Diplomatists, both at home and abroad. His opinion of the menacing and unconstitutional character of Marshal MacMahon's Cabinet remained unchanged. "Let us," said he, so late as October, 1875, "only beware of those who sail under false colours and give themselves out as Republicans, but with the mental reservation that the revision clause will afford them one more opportunity of turning their coat."

The great political name M. Thiers made for himself of recent years has tended in some degree to efface or, at least, to throw into the shade his literary labours, and men have come to think of him more as the leading Minister of State in France than as a renowned author. Yet, really, with the exception of the work he did for his country in 1871, he will be chiefly remembered hereafter by the ever-living reputation of his writings. From the time when his fellow-citizen from Marseilles,

Manuel, gave him work on the 'Constitutionnel' between 1821 and 1830, Thiers was essentially a journalist, writing for that journal, the 'Globe,' the 'National,' of which he was, with Armand Carrel, one of the founders, the 'Revue Française,' the 'Tablettes Universelles,' and the 'Encyclopédie Progressive.' He wrote on all sorts of subjects. Thus, in 1823, he published "Les Pyrénées et le Midi de France pendant les Mois de Novembre et Décembre," records of his travels and studies of Spanish Carlism; and, about the same time he wrote a "Notice sur la Vie de Mrs. Bellamy," the Actress; and gave to the 'Constitutionnel,' an account of the paintings in the Salon for 1822. In 1824, he did the same work for both 'Constitutionnel' and 'Globe,' without any one suspecting that the two articles were by one and the same hand. The Articles for 1822 have been published separately, and are still worthy of perusal.

From January to July 1830, he made incessant war against the last Ministry of the Restoration, and has been justly deemed by his countrymen one of the chief causes of the overthrow of Charles the Tenth.

From Journalism he turned to History, contemplat-

ing more indeed than he could possibly execute. Thus, he paid great attention to the History of Florence, and projected a general History of Architecture; but the only two great works he completed were the histories of the Revolution, and of the Consulate and Empire, respectively. The first was suggested to him by Felix Bodin, who himself contributed to some part of the first two volumes, which appeared in 1823, and established the reputation of M. Thiers. The "Histoire de Consulat et de l'Empire" appeared in twenty vols. between 1845 and 1862. Both works have naturally met with much criticism, and there can be little doubt that the latter gives a far more favourable view of the Emperor Napoleon, both in his acts and in his words, than would be gathered from the perusal of his own correspondence, or from the records of those who were admitted to intimacy with him. Yet, for all this, it is certainly an admirable work; and will justly find readers and admirers so long as the French language itself endures. It has been generally remarked that one great peculiarity of M. Thiers' writings is their singular clearness—a quality which is especially noticeable in a pamphlet he published in 1826, on "Law et son Système de Finances." So clear, indeed did M. Thiers make his story that the public naturally

supposed it was founded on new and unpublished documents, whereas all M. Thiers did was to take the edicts of the time of Law, official documents well-known, and to rearrange them with his marvellous sagacity. M. Thiers was, also, a considerable Orator, perhaps the best in France of his times; his style being, like his writings, clear and nervous; he indulged largely in what has especial favour with his countrymen—terse and epigrammatic sentences; or, in phrases expressing by a few words, a whole world of ideas or a complete political situation. Every one will remember his phrase, "Les libertés nécessaires," and his remark, "Il n'y a plus une faute à commettre."

During the past year, the Society has had, at its meetings, several interesting papers, of which, according to the usual custom, I proceed to give a brief notice.

Sir Patrick de Colquhoun, V.P., commenced reading "Historical outlines of the leading Religions of the World," in which he surveyed, at considerable length, the earliest form of Religion in India, [which he considered to be the Brahmanic,] and traced, how,

from the simplicity of the earliest systems as recorded in the Vedas, the vast and complicated idolatrous worship, which has now prevailed there for so many centuries, had grown up, as it were, insensibly. Sir Patrick then gave an account of the origin and prevalence of Infanticide chiefly among the higher classes of the Hindus, as, for instance, among the Rajputs; and of Suttee (Sati) everywhere—and showed that neither of these practices were supported by the doctrines of the earliest Indian Scriptures. In conclusion, he briefly noticed the alterations in the popular religion which have been brought about, in recent times, first by the reforming agency of Ram-Mohun Roy, and secondly by Keshub Sen.

In a subsequent paper, he traced the Historical Story of Buddhism; and stated his belief that Buddhism was, in fact, the outcome of Brahmanism, and occupied a position with reference to that creed not wholly unlike that of the Reformed Christian Church to the elder Oriental and Western Churches; according to his view, therefore, Buddhism was of the nature of a Sect, though its wide-spread acceptance would seem to entitle it to the rank of an independent creed, being nominally, at least, that of one-third of the Human Race.

In this paper, Sir Patrick de Colquhoun commenced by giving a *précis* of the life of its founder, *Siddhartha Gautama*, son of *Suddhódana*, Maharaja of Kapilavasta of the Sakhya Tribe; and added, that, as is commonly the case with the founders of New Creeds, a great deal of legendary matter had been gathered around him. Thus, his future tutor, Asita, declared his birth remarkable by a development of thirty-two great and twenty-four inferior signs of future eminence, announcing at the same time, shortly afterwards, that he had nothing more to teach him.

At the proper age, Gautama was married to his cousin *Maya*, a woman nearly as distinguished as himself by her acquirements. His mother died seven days after his birth. Being challenged by his future father-in-law to show his proficiency in the usual athletic exercises of his caste, to the astonishment of all, he exceeded, so the legend tells us, his competitors not alone in these, but also in intellectual knowledge. In his twenty-ninth year he secretly left the Palace, divested himself of his Princely ornaments, shaved his head, obtained garments of skin from a trapper, and, as an ascetic, commenced his mission of reformation. When these garments were worn out, he supplied their place with

a yellow shroud obtained from a buried slave: this, in aftertimes, became the distinctive badge of the Order; and, hence, has been, sometimes, vulgarly called "Chinese Mourning."

After his twenty-four hours' meditation under the "Ficus Religiosa" (or Bo-Tree) he perceived that he had become "The Buddha," that is, had obtained "perfect intelligence" and had entered "*Nirwâna.*" He died at the age of eighty, having, in spite of the opposition of the Brahmans, obtained a large number of followers. The practical result of Buddhism was the abolition of caste. Its founder taught Virtue for Virtue's sake; he preserved the Doctrine of Metempsychosis, acknowledged no Deity, abhorred idols, and recognised no Priesthood, his so-called monks were, strictly speaking, and, as intended by him, simply teachers.

The writer then dealt with the Doctrine of *Nirwâna* and expressed his opinion that it implies neither more nor less than total annihilation of the vital principle, the soul as well as the matter, differing, in this respect, from the Brahmanical doctrine which holds that the Soul, after a series of Transmigra-

tions, is ultimately absorbed into the Essence of the Deity, thence to be redistributed just as matter is. The Buddhist's hell is terrestrial, and the ultimate end of the last or perfect birth, is annihilation. It is surprising that so unattractive a creed should have found so many votaries, but absolute freedom from caste-duties had, no doubt, much to do with its early success. The area of Buddhism, under some form or other, extends, in the north, from the Nepalese Himá layas over Kashmir, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Japan, and, in the south, over Burmah, Siam, Assam, and Ceylon. It has been estimated by Prof. Max Müller that Buddhism comprehends at least 450 millions of human beings.

No doubt, since the days of the founder, the Institution has varied considerably—but the variations have taken place almost wholly in the northern type of Buddhism, where a system has gradually grown up analogous to that prevailing in Roman Catholic Countries. The southern Buddhists of Ceylon, etc., have preserved much of the simplicity of their original Creed, and know nothing of the Hierarchy, the Pope, Cardinals, Abbots, fifteen degrees of inferior clergy, the idols, choirs, monks and nuns, incense and

processions, characteristic of the Dalai-Lama worship of Tibet. In fact, the Lama is the Sovereign Ruler as well as Chief Priest of his Country, and rules by the violation of all, or nearly all, the essentials of the Buddhism Religion, of which he claims to be the Chief Exponent.

To our Librarian, Mr. Walter De Gray Birch, we are indebted for an interesting paper "On a very rare Saxon Document," the original Charter of Uhtred, the *Sub-Regulus* of the Wiccii, or people of Worcestershire, to Ethelmund, Minister of Offa, which has been recently discovered in the Cathedral Library at Worcester. Its date is, presumably, that of Offa, A.D. 791–6, and, apart from its antiquity, is of other and especial note, resembling, as it does, very closely, in its handwriting, a grant of Offa himself, published by the British Archæological Association in their Journal for 1876, p. 190. The grant itself is that of a piece of land, in the "*vicus*" of Easton near Worcester, to be held by the ordinary Saxon holding of three lives, with an ultimate reversion to the Cathedral Church of Worcester. Mr. Birch, by the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter, exhibited the original document to the Society.

Mr. W. A. Barrett communicated a curious paper "On the Etymons of Musical Sounds," in which he pointed out that, as the knowledge of a language, through root words enables the philologist to trace and to recognise the original source of language, generally, in the common forms of speech, so it would seem to be presumably possible to determine the position in civilization a nation has attained, by noting the musical instruments in common use.

Mr. Barrett then described the music of the ancient Hebrews, of the Greeks, and of the Latins, giving, in detail, the names and the character of the several musical instruments known to them, and the relation of the same to those of more modern times or in present use.

The general character of musical instruments and the terms used in Mediæval days were then set forth, as well as those of later date, and a series of curious and interesting facts relating generally to this subject were then brought forward. The influence of Commerce with the East and with Spain, Italy, Germany, and France on the shape and names given to musical instruments, the peculiar changes in the

words applied to theoretical music, and the probable process by which these changes were effected, were finally dwelt on.

To Dr. C. M. Ingleby, one of our Vice-Presidents, we are indebted for a paper, "On the Literary career of a Shakespeare Forger," in which, after a brief sketch of the origin and details of the Ireland Forgeries, he discussed the question of their authorship, which in December, 1855, had been reopened by Mr. Burn, then editor of "Willis' Current Notes." Mr. Burn attributed all the forgeries to the elder Ireland; but evidence recently recovered confirms the original view, that W. H. Ireland was the sole concocter and author of the hoax. Last summer the Trustees of the British Museum purchased of a grandson of Samuel Ireland a mass of miscellaneous MSS. bearing upon these forgeries. These consist of three thick quarto volumes. 1. A scrap-book. 2. A volume of letters. 3. Samuel Ireland's Journal; besides other books, deeds, papers, etc. Dr. Ingleby stated that he had examined this collection and found its contents confirmed in every important particular the statements of W. H. Ireland in his "Authentic

Account" and his "Confession," thus completely establishing the innocence of his father.

Dr. Ingleby also exhibited sixteen volumes from his own library, being scarce tracts and other works of W. H. Ireland; also his MSS. of the "The Frogmore Fête," "Stanzas to Clara Fisher," "Monody on Shakespeare," etc., with his own copy of the "Authentic Account," twenty-eight insertions of specimens of forgery, verses in the handwriting of his mother, and a fine crayon portrait of her; also a volume of letters and verses addressed to Samuel Ireland.

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